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MEDIÆVAL ITALY

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO HENRY VII

WORKS BY PROFESSOR PASQUALE VILLARI

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From an ivory in the possession of Prince Trivulzio of Milan.

The Emperor Otho I.

MEDIÆVAL ITALY

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO HENRY VII

BY

PROFESSOR PASQUALE VILLARI

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA"
"THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS OF ITALY," ETC., ETC.

WITH SEVENTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

TRANSLATED BY COSTANZA HULTON

T. FISHER UNWIN
LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE
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PREFACE

WHOEVER glances at this volume will, most probably, before having read it, exclaim, "A popular book for the general reader!" And for many these words will be a condemnation. It therefore seems to the writer not useless that the reader should know what was his aim and what were the difficulties he sought to overcome.

I had no mind to write an erudite book. But, if documents be inspected and criticism exercised upon them for the better understanding of facts, I do not think that a clear and simple exposition of these facts can be a vain work. On the contrary, I think that the too great neglect of such expositions, now frequent in Italy, where we are apt to occupy ourselves exclusively with the collecting of further documents, without giving thought to the object for which they are collected, is a mistake.

The historical period which I have endeavoured to expound is certainly one of the most important in our annals. In the midst of a giddy, tumultuous variety of multiplied events, Italian civilisation was then rising towards its greatest height, to begin, at the end of this same period, its rapid descent. To make clear, by a simple narrative, the intrinsic unity of this infinite variety of events, the causes of growth, and

the more or less remote causes of decay, is certainly neither a useless nor an easy undertaking. The past serves to make us know the present better. We expect of our history that it should elucidate and define for us the life and the formation of the spirit of our national character. All this is not to be obtained from documents alone ; nor by philosophical dissertations alone could we succeed in making it clearly understood by the country for whose political and social education it is a necessity. Only too often does it happen, exactly on account of the intimate relation between past and present, that, instead of seeking the objective, impartial explanation of facts, we carry into the past the ideas of the present, and thus produce a confusion which prevents us from well understanding either the one or the other. And this is what, by reason of our political passions, very often happens in the compilation of Italian history, and it is from this error that we must most particularly guard ourselves if we wish to achieve a sure knowledge of the truth : of what we really were and of what we are.

Without discussing it, we have accepted from foreign writers the verdict that Italians are by nature a people indifferent to religion, almost devoid, in fact, of the religious sense. It has been said and repeated of us that we have always occupied ourselves exclusively with jurisprudence, commerce, industry, literature, and art. Even in the Crusades we are said to have seen only an occasion for money-making without sharing, to the slightest degree, in the uncontrollable religious enthusiasm which urged other nations to the East for the liberation of Christ's sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel. Such remarks would almost lead one to suppose that St. Benedict, St. Francis, Abbot Joachim, even Arnold of Brescia, Leo I.,

Gregory the Great, Gregory VII., and many others, were not natives of Italy. And yet our whole history, down to the death of Dante Alighieri, is a continual proof of the contrary. It was during that period that the religious life rose to the highest degree of importance, and we find no great political event that was not preceded, accompanied, and animated by some religious movement or religious contest. In our country indifference began with the Humanists and the Renascence. Indeed, one of the most striking facts of our history is the sudden—almost instantaneous—change which, from this point of view, then occurred in Italy. Between Dante and Petrarca and Boccaccio, between the "Vita Nuova," the "Divine Comedy," and the "Decameron," a century might have elapsed, and yet they were almost contemporary. It is conceivable that foreigners for whom the Renascence is the golden age not only of art and literature but also of our history as a whole, should only see men of the Renascence at every point and in every period. But it is not conceivable that Italians, who ought to understand that in this way the most varied types and periods become confused, should follow the same course. To correct this error, which seems to me a very grave one, it is neither necessary to formulate judgments nor to enter into discussions, much less to write biased history; it is sufficient to narrate well-proved events without mutilating them in any way, and giving to each its natural proportions.

Also, on this head, it is strange to note that while describing Italians as extremely practical men, hardly more than plain merchants only bent on making money, yet in treating of the history of our Communes we have paid very little attention to their trade and their economic conditions, although know-

ledge of these is indispensable to a clear understanding of it. The histories of Genoa, Pisa, Venice, and Florence can only be comprehended through the history of their trade. Every war they make is caused by their commercial interests, and every peace they conclude terminates with a commercial treaty. Even the internal political revolutions that continually rend our Communes, the frequent modifications of their statutes and their rapid changes of government, are, most often, but the result of economic conflict. It is true that in this field much progress has recently been made, but a great deal more still remains to be done. Accordingly, even narrative history should give more attention to commercial questions than has hitherto been the case.

But there is another very important consideration which, in my opinion, merits our best attention. During the national revival we have frequently been forced to observe that the social and political conditions of the South of Italy are very inferior in comparison with those of the Centre and North. And instead of seeking in the past the original cause and the historical explanation of this fact, we have *a priori* believed it to be the fatal consequence of some natural law, almost as though Italy were peopled by two different races.

Such an opinion is often discernible even when, from patriotic motives, an attempt is made to hide it, and it has ended by becoming more widely spread than is generally believed. It has constantly been present with, and influenced, those who have written the history of our past. And the result has been that when the historian was confronted by facts which appeared inexplicable because they too plainly contradicted these generally accepted convictions, he almost

unconsciously veiled, attenuated, hid, or even suppressed them. In fact, on reading certain general histories of Italy, one might suppose that the Southern Provinces had altogether vanished. Even Sismondi, while intending to write a history of Italy, entitled his work "A History of the Italian Republics." More than once it seems to have been entirely forgotten that Southern Italy, under the Normans and the House of Suabia, was not only the most flourishing and civilised portion of our peninsula, but also of Europe; and that Palermo was then the most beautiful and most splendid city in the world. It was the birthplace of our national literature and our national art. Sicily, Apulia, and the rest of the Southern provinces, were rich in architectural monuments of far greater beauty than any to be found elsewhere, and even at the present day many of them still remain to testify to the ancient prosperity and greatness of those provinces. Yet not only have the past glories of the South in art, literature, industry, and commerce been forgotten or belittled, but even the value of her military expeditions by sea and land and of her conquest, at the cost of much blood, of the North African coast, in order to make of it almost a dependency of Sicily, has been ignored.

Alike in the Archipelago and in the East, Sicilian galleys more than once proved their strength against those of Venice and Byzantium, and steered their threatening course into the Bosphorus itself.

And yet these facts are neither unknown, disputed, nor unproved. Both in documents and buildings their record is preserved. The histories of De Blasiis, La Lumia, and many others, throw the fullest light upon them. Moreover, nowadays we can no longer allege the poor excuse that the works of foreign

writers have diverted us from the truth and led us into error. Of late years, on the contrary, both the French and the Germans have published, and continue to publish, very important works upon the political, literary, and artistic history of Southern Italy, in which due value is given to the great events to which we have alluded. Sometimes, indeed, they even assume the defence of the South against Italian writers. It has been said that they have done this from interested motives, to satisfy their national feelings. Thus the French seek to extol the Normans, who came from France, and the Germans the House of Suabia, which was German. But should not the interest and *amour propre* of Italy be far more deeply concerned in revealing the part taken by about one-third of the country in the formation of the national spirit and character, and in the ideal constitution of the fatherland? And even in this there is no question of discussion or theorising, nor of saying anything new. All that is necessary is to give to accepted facts their proper place in history and to show them in their due proportions. The reader will decide whether, and to what extent, I have attained my purpose. At all events, the matter is important in itself, and even should I have failed, my attempt will serve, let me hope, to urge others on to make it with better success.

And now it only remains to me to thank most warmly my dear friends and colleagues, Achille Coen, Alberto Dal Vecchio, and Luigi Schiapparelli, who have so kindly given me the help of their valuable advice.

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The Publisher's thanks are due to Prince Trivulzio, of Milan, for kind permission to reproduce his ivory of Otho I. as a frontispiece, to Signor Giacomo Brogi, of Florence, for the free use of the photograph of the Cappella Palatina, and to the Società Tipografico-Editrice Nazionale, of Turin, for the loan of the blocks of the illustrations facing pages 134, 264, 271, 285, 326, *and* 350.

BOOK I

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEATH OF OTHO III.

(800–1002)

MEDIÆVAL ITALY

CHAPTER I

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS I.

(800–840)

The placing by Leo III. of the Imperial crown upon the head of Charlemagne in St. Peter's on Christmas Day of the year 800 marked the commencement of a new era in the history of the world. But the Empire of the West, initiated at that moment in its dual character—political and religious—contained within itself the germs of infinite discords and calamities. As Roman and Christian it should have symbolised the union of nations; but meanwhile the Empire of the East, heir to Rome, continued to exist at Constantinople. Furthermore, the Western Empire was composed of very dissimilar races which, until then divided and subdivided among themselves, had often been at war with one another. The greatest and most immediate danger to the unity of the Empire came from the German principle of succession, according to which the State, as the property of the Sovereign, must be divided among his heirs. This principle, which in the past had caused many bloody wars among

the Franks, promised no good for the future of the new Empire. Charlemagne, who was a very great leader of Teutonic peoples, but who lacked the true genius of organisation, held it together by the power of his sword and the strength of his personal authority. It was therefore easy to predict that his death would be followed by a period of anarchy.

The tendency to division and subdivision soon showed itself clearly in all regions, but especially in Italy. There the vast Duchy of Benevento, unconquered by the Franks, had remained in possession of the Longobards, preserving its independence. The rest of Southern Italy, together with Sicily, continued in its allegiance to the Byzantine Empire. In Central Italy the Pope was supreme. In the rest of the peninsula, as in all other parts of the Empire, duchies had been cut up into counties. The Counts were appointed by the Sovereign and depended on him; and even the Bishops, especially outside Italy, were chosen by him. The Counts and Bishops should have worked together, but the limits of their respective authority not being well defined, great confusion was inevitably produced by the politico-ecclesiastical character of the new Empire, and led at once to a series of fresh calamities.

For purposes of defence, groups of counties situated on the frontiers of the Empire were welded together into large duchies and were called Marches. Thus it came about that in Italy the Friulian Marches, eventually extending to the Adige, were constituted. The great Duchy of Spoleto, on the southern border of the Empire, was preserved intact. Later on, the Counts of Turin, of Asti, and of Ivrea enlarged their dominions by incorporating various other counties. Finally, the great Marquisate of Tuscany was formed,

DIADEM OF CHARLEMAGNE.

(At Vienna.)

To face p. 4.

and its Marquises were so many small but powerful potentates. But for the moment no further mention of them is required.

The unity of the Empire was represented by Charlemagne, and in his palace he was surrounded by a vast number of "domestics" and officials who formed his court. The *Missi Dominici* supervised the whole administration, and there were two for each *Missatica* or province, usually one a layman and the other an ecclesiastic. According to Teutonic custom, the people took part in the administration of justice and of public affairs. Assemblies, therefore, formed an important part of the political constitution of the Empire. They were also held in the duchies and counties, but these were local assemblies of the same nature as the meetings called together by the *Missi* before they commenced their inspections. The General Assemblies were of a different character, and the kingdom of Italy, which, although forming part of the Empire, preserved its autonomy, had its own. There were two of these assemblies, and, save in exceptional circumstances, they were convened the one in spring and the other in autumn. The first and more general was called by the Longobards *Campo di Marzo*, or Field of March; and by the Franks *Campo di Maggio*, or Field of May, from the month in which it met. Charlemagne held it even later in the year. The Nobles and the people took part in it, and its decrees became law for the whole Empire. At the autumn assembly the Nobles sat alone, and they drafted the laws and decrees which were to be approved by the larger assembly. The participation of the people in the spring council was reduced by degrees to a mere form.

The Teutonic laws had a personal character and

differed with each race. They were merely customs sanctioned by use and spontaneously born of the popular conscience, and had therefore to be approved by the people after being formulated by the elders. The General Assembly had to decide whether that which was written down were a faithful reproduction of the national custom. The Sovereign had no more power to abolish or change such laws than he had to abolish or change the language of a people. Charlemagne fought, conquered, and subjugated the Saxons; but when he wished to legislate for them he had first to consult them. There existed, however, also certain general laws which applied to the whole Empire, and these, emanating directly from the Emperor, were called *Capitularia*, because they were divided into chapters. In latter times the *Capitularies* were used to modify local laws, and were then called *Capitularia legibus addenda*. But originally the Sovereign's power of legislation was extremely limited.

Everything in the new Empire seemed designed not only to separate the various nationalities of which it was composed, but to destroy society itself and all unity of government. Rural property assumed always more the form of a *beneficium*, bringing with it the obligation to the holder of paying tribute in money or in kind, and of rendering service to the person from whom the *beneficium* had been received and under whose protection he remained. This state of dependence was further augmented by the *Commendatio*, which took various forms and was another kind of vassalage. In Charlemagne's time there still existed vassals without *beneficia*, but there were no beneficiaries who were exempt from vassalage. This beneficiary form of property holding became more

and more general. Not only land but offices were given in this manner. Charlemagne's officials, the great Nobles, the Counts, and the Bishops, even the members of the Imperial family who held rule, were all beneficiaries. As time went on the *beneficia* became hereditary, and thus acquired greater importance and independence.

The institutions of *beneficium* and *commendatio*, together with immunity, constituted feudalism. The immunity originally appertaining to lands possessed by the Sovereign, by the Bishops, and by the monasteries continued to have force even when such lands were conferred as *beneficia*. In this way on the one hand the guarantees of personal liberty were diminished, while on the other the sovereign power was weakened by division and subdivision. Society, by taking on the forms of feudalism, appeared to be breaking up into fragments. The relations between the Sovereign and his people, carried on by means of offices and *beneficia*, gave to the feudal nobility a character which, little by little, formed itself definitely in their families by right of succession, and which continually infringed on the Sovereign's power.

The characteristics of military service also were gradually changed by the same methods. At first every holder of property was obliged to serve, but when property took on the beneficiary form, it was no longer sufficient to be a holder of property, it was also necessary to be able to prove the possession of personal freedom. Many serfs were soldiers, but they served under ill-defined conditions, and only as dependants on their lord, this position making their military service far lighter. The free soldier received no pay; he had to maintain himself at his own expense, refunding himself, if possible, by

plunder; and therefore, although such service was only obligatory for a short period, it was of an onerous nature. Many small proprietors, to avoid the military duties of freemen, made over their lands to a lord from whom they received them back in the form of a *beneficium*. In this manner they became his dependants, and as soldiers were in his pay. Charlemagne found himself compelled to make the obligation of military service bear equally on free proprietors and beneficiaries, allowing only a very small number of serfs to remain in direct dependence on their lords. These lords were charged with the supervision of the conditions of the land and with the choice of the men. The army was thus formed on the basis of duty towards the State, but it had been necessary, in order to bring this about, to permit the intervention of local lords. Later on it grew to be entirely composed of these feudal lords, who were so many small but independent sovereigns, each one having supreme authority over his own vassals.

The same course was followed in the administration of justice, nor could it be otherwise. According to the old Teutonic custom, justice was administered by a free people. But when it came about that the people no longer took much part in the general and local assemblies and the interpretation of law became more difficult and less universal, the need for local magistrates, called *Scabini*, arose. This appellation dates from Charlemagne's time, but the office was probably in existence at an earlier date. These judges were elected by the *Missi* and could be dismissed by popular consent. In each county they formed a bench numbering seven and sometimes twelve. In the Assembly, which was presided over by the Count, or his representative, who pronounced

sentence, they sat apart. The Sovereign, however, was always the supreme judge. But with the further growth of the feudal system and the constant extension of immunities, the power of the judges was also divided and broken up. If, in addition to all these causes of weakness and social disintegration, the attitude of the Papacy, which had always been more or less antagonistic to the Eastern Empire and was rapidly becoming adverse to the Western (notwithstanding the fact that, for its own advantage, it had promoted and consecrated its formation), is taken into consideration, it will be easy to foresee the many and great dangers which threatened the new Empire.

None of these dangers escaped the notice of Charlemagne, but no remedy could be found. At his death the Empire must inevitably be divided among his heirs. In the hope of preventing the renewal of the fratricidal and bloody wars of Merovingian times, he determined to settle the terms of succession during his own lifetime. This he did by his will of February 6, 806, one of the most solemn acts of his life. Although the number of his legitimate sons and bastards reached fifteen, he only recognised the three surviving sons which he had had by his wife Hildegarde—Charles, Pippin, and Louis—as heirs to his vast Empire. To the first he left France (Austrasia and Neustria); to the second, Italy; to the third, all Aquitaine, with the exception of Tours. These portions only formed the nucleus of the kingdom which each of the three was to inherit. The rest of the Empire was minutely divided among them in such wise that, as the testator himself observed, the three brothers could easily join hands with one another in case of need. Charles, by the valley of Aosta, and Louis, by the valley of Susa, would be

in direct communication with Pippin. Charlemagne added that in the event of the death of either one of these three without heirs, his possessions should be divided between the two survivors. Therefore, in the case of Pippin predeceasing his brothers, Italy (as much of it as the Franks had conquered) was to be divided between Charles and Louis. By these dispositions the unity of the Empire was almost lost sight of; furthermore, the division was arranged with no regard to geographical or ethnographical conditions. These divisions, however, were never effected, for before the succession was opened Pippin died, on July 8, 810, and Charles on December 4, 811. Pippin left a natural son called Bernard, to whom, with the title of King, Italy was conceded. But he remained the vassal of his uncle Louis.

Thus it came about that, on January 28, 814, when Charlemagne himself died, the Empire was not cut up, but remained in the hands of the most incapable of his sons, Louis, called by some the Pious, by others *Le Débonnaire*. Weakly in body and in mind, he found himself at once confronted by difficulties of so grave a nature that only his father's military and political genius could have surmounted them. Superstitious and bigoted, he turned his thoughts to the restoration of churches and monasteries; he even made a vain attempt to restrain the license of the dissolute Franks, and especially of the members of his own family. In the year 816 Pope Leo III. died, and on June 22nd Stephen IV. allowed himself to be consecrated without awaiting the Imperial sanction. Louis offered no objection to this, made no attempt to uphold the rights of the Empire, and even went so far as to request his own consecration at the hands of the new Pope. Stephen went to Rheims and there Louis,

on receiving the Imperial crown from his hands, prostrated himself three times before him. Thus were the parts reversed. This Pope, who had taken no steps to obtain the Imperial sanction to his own election, was humbly requested by the Emperor to consecrate him. The equal balance of power, apparently attained in 800, was therefore annihilated almost at its birth.

During the first days of the year 817, Stephen IV. died, and Paschal I. was elected. This Pope, who was also consecrated without the Imperial sanction, demanded of the Emperor a confirmation of the gifts of territory made to the Church by Pippin and Charlemagne. This was accorded to him by the so-called *Privilegium* of Louis in 817,[1] the most ancient of such documents that remains to us. By it all territorial concessions made by Charlemagne were confirmed, and the Pope was guaranteed in his free sovereignty over them; furthermore, he was assured of the protection of the Empire (save in cases of manifest and unjust violence), and of the renunciation on the part of the Emperor of any intervention in Papal elections, which could be fully effected according to canon law alone. In substance this document definitely sanctioned a state of things which was already established.

Louis also wished to settle the succession of the Empire among his heirs during his own lifetime. To a far greater extent than his father Charlemagne, he sought to maintain its unity, the necessity for which was now beginning to be generally felt. Having been himself crowned by the Pope at Rheims, he placed

[1] Muratori and others were of the opinion that this document was a forgery; but Ficker and Sickel have proved that, with the exception of some interpolations, it is authentic.

the Imperial crown with his own hands, at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the head of his eldest son Lothair, giving him from that moment (817) a share in the government of the Empire, and, by his will, leaving the Northern Provinces more especially to him. He also granted to Lothair supremacy over his two other sons, Pippin and Louis, called "the German," to whom he left respectively Aquitaine and Bavaria, with the obligation of seeking their elder brother's counsel once a year—he being their overlord—and prohibiting them from making war without Lothair's consent. These dispositions were solemnly sanctioned at Worms (817) in the presence of the great nobles and high ecclesiastics after a fast of three days, and prayers for the general welfare, for the tranquillity of the Church, and for the unity of the Empire. To Bernard, as a vassal, remained the kingdom of Italy. The latter, considering himself unjustly slighted, rebelled against his uncle and cousins. He was however soon defeated, made prisoner and blinded, and he died in 818.

The kingdom of Italy was then granted to Lothair, who was immediately sent by his father to Pavia. There he received the Pope's invitation to proceed to Rome to be crowned by him in St. Peter's. Although Lothair had been already crowned by his father at Aix-la-Chapelle, Pope Paschal wished to make it manifest that no coronation could be valid unless it were performed by the Sovereign Pontiff in Rome. And Louis the Pious was always ready to submit to Papal commands. Lothair, however, proved less amenable, and before starting for Rome, where he was eventually crowned on April 5, 823, he asserted the supreme authority of the Empire by solemnly administering justice. Furthermore, in a lawsuit between the Abbot of Farfa and the Pope, he gave

his decision in favour of the former, an act that led to serious results, for it served to encourage the adversaries of Paschal, and helped to form an Imperial party. No sooner had Lothair departed from Rome than two high dignitaries of the Church, the Primicierius Theodore and the Nomenclator Leo, were accused of rebellion against the Pope in favour of the Emperor, and condemned to death without regular trial. Lothair, very naturally, was incensed by such a proceeding, and Louis sent two *Missi* to hold an inquiry. This step led to no particular result, for the Pope, after declaring that no human judgment could have power over him, swore solemnly in the Lateran that he was innocent of the deaths of the two condemned men, adding, however, that they were guilty and deserved their fate. It is difficult to believe that he could be free of direct or indirect responsibility for what had happened. At all events it is certain that conflict between the two supreme authorities—political and ecclesiastical—must inevitably ensue, and could not be long delayed. Such was the state of affairs when, at some date between April and May (according to Jaffè), 824, Paschal died, and already party excitement and violence had reached such a pitch that it was impossible to bury him in St. Peter's.

The Papal election which followed was tempestuous in the extreme. The party of the military nobles (*exercitus romanus*) and the ecclesiastical party put forward opposing candidates, and with the help of the Imperialists the former was victorious. Its candidate was elected and took the name of Eugenius II. The state of Rome then became more and more deplorable; the opposing parties tore one another to pieces, and intrigues, conspiracies, and abuses of all kinds were rife. The clergy governed, but the real

power lay in the hands of their adversaries. In this condition of things it seemed clear that the intervention of the Imperial authority, which alone could re-establish and maintain order, was absolutely necessary. Accordingly Louis sent Lothair back to Rome, where he was able to put an end to much violence and injustice, to make good many just claims, to restore much confiscated property, and to recall many exiles. Furthermore, in 824, by a *Constitutio* [1] (which still remains to us), he determined more clearly the relations and respective rights of the Church and the Empire. The inviolability of certain persons who were placed under the protection of the Church or of the Empire was firmly established. The Roman magistrates, after their election, were to be presented to the Emperor in order that he might know their names and their number, and be enabled to instruct and advise them. Two *Missi*, one appointed by the Pope and one by the Emperor, were to reside permanently in Rome. The election of the Pope was to be made by the Romans—clergy and laymen—and each new Pope was to take the oath in the presence of the Imperial *Missi* and of the people before he could be consecrated. By this decree the Pontifical elections were subject to the Emperor's sanction, and he also reserved to himself the right of summoning, admonishing, and, if necessary, deposing the magistrates appointed by the Popes. These rights are clearly defined in the document, and proved by its subsequent application. The Pope was compelled to submit because it had become evident to all that the Imperial authority alone could maintain order in Rome, and give force to the Papal government. This was the

[1] To be found in Migne, xcvii. 459; in M. G. H., "Legum," sec. ii. (*Capitularia*), t. I. 322–324.

condition of affairs when Eugenius died in 827. His successor, Valentinius I., only reigned for forty days, and at his death Gregory IV. (827–844) was elected, and consecrated after having received the Imperial sanction.

During the reign of this Pope many important changes took place in the Empire, owing to the various causes of discord and disorder which had long existed. In October, 818, Louis' first wife had died, and he, bigot as he was, had wished to enter a monastery. All who had influence with him, even his Bishops, dissuaded him from this step, for all feared that the latent discord among his sons would break out and cause the dismemberment of the Empire. Louis then decided to marry again. He chose as his second wife Judith, a daughter of Guelf of Bavaria, and was soon intensely enamoured of her; her power over him became very great, and in 823 she presented him with a son, Charles the Bald. His birth was the cause of much discord, for his mother wished that he should be placed on an equal footing with his half-brothers and receive a kingdom from his father. Louis could not do this without taking away part of what he had already granted to his other sons, and their opposition was very violent. The Pope favoured their cause, for he feared the disruption of the Empire, the unity of which was becoming more and more necessary for the defence of the Church and the peace of the world.

But Louis, under the influence of his wife, would listen to no one, and assigned to his youngest son the kingdom of Alemannia, thereby provoking armed rebellion on the part of the other three, headed by Lothair. This rebellion attained such violence and became so general that Louis, finding himself deserted

on all sides, was forced to submit and resign himself to the imprisonment of his wife as the chief fomenter of these troubles. But soon after there was a reaction among those who openly upheld the unity of the Empire. At the end of 830 Louis was again strong enough to exercise his authority, and imprison in their turn the partisans of his son Lothair, who lost everything except the kingdom of Italy. No sooner, however, was the Empress Judith restored to liberty than her indomitable desire to favour her son Charles and assure him his kingdom again fired the torch of discord. The whole Empire remained in a disturbed condition until the 20th of June, 840, when Louis died.

The division of the Empire then became inevitable. One of Louis' four sons, Pippin, had predeceased him. The three surviving sons—Lothair, Louis II., called "the German," and Charles the Bald—were at once at war with one another, and it was only by effecting a definite division of territory, ratified in August, 843, by the treaty of Verdun, that they came to an agreement. Charles received Western France, Louis Germany. The intermediate country between these two realms—from the mouths of the Meuse and the Rhine to the mouth of the Rhone, with Aix-la-Chapelle for its capital—fell to Lothair, from whom it took its name of Lothringen, or Loraine. This name was preserved by the northern portion of this territory, which was subsequently inherited by his son, Lothair II. Lothair retained Italy as well, and became Emperor. In spite of the treaty and in spite of the general hope, it had proved impossible to avoid the dismemberment of the Empire. Nor was it possible to bring about a lasting peace between the three brothers, among whom war continued to rage.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF VENICE — THE COMING OF THE SARACENS TO SICILY — THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE TO THE DEATHS OF LEO IV. AND OF LOTHAIR I.

(800–855)

THE disturbances of the Empire naturally affected Northern and Central Italy, forming, as they did, an integral part of it. We have already spoken of the condition of the provinces where the Popes held rule. Southern Italy was almost entirely held by the Longobards who had retained possession of the great duchy—later on ranking as a principality—of Benevento, which the Franks had never been able to conquer. But the Longobards, as was their custom, could never live at peace among themselves, and therefore were soon split up. First the principality of Salerno separated itself and then Capua. A small portion of Southern Italy, especially the coast-lands and Sicily, were dependent on Constantinople, whose weak, arbitrary, and oppressive rule was hateful to all. Some of the maritime cities, such as Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, although nominally in the same dependence on Constantinople, had virtually gained a considerable amount of autonomy and independence. Their

growing sea trade, for which the Longobards showed no aptitude, was of considerable advantage to them and increased their strength. Another source of power was afforded them by their position between Longobard and Byzantine rulers. They could take advantage of both by playing a double game, approaching one or the other in turn without ever submitting entirely to either. Thus did they already stand forth as the precursors of those free communes which arose in Northern Italy later on.

Far more distinctly, however, did these conditions reveal themselves in Venice. We have observed elsewhere [1] that Cassiodorus, Theodoric's minister, expressed his admiration for the daring of the Venetians, calling them the Seabirds of the Lagoons. Already in 734 the twelve islands were confederated, and had instituted the office of a life-Doge, which was sanctioned by the Emperor of the East. The Doge Orso, commanding the Venetian ships, had already, at the invitation of Pope Gregory III., proved himself sufficiently powerful to reinstate the Exarch Eutichius, who had been driven from Ravenna by an insurrection. The Venetians also found it advantageous to play the double game between the Longobards and the Byzantines. They had succeeded in bringing about the removal of the seat of the Patriarchate from Aquileja, where it was subject to the Longobards, to the island of Grado, and this change, by making the see independent, helped them to political independence. The Franks, after conquering the Longobard kingdom, spread into Istria and Dalmatia, and became thenceforward far more dangerous to the Venetians than their predecessors, the Longobards, had been. Charlemagne

[1] "The Barbarian Invasions of Italy," London, T. Fisher Unwin.

projected the subjugation of Venice in order to detach her definitely from Byzantium. This proved an additional cause of conflict between the two Empires, for each was beginning to realise the great advantages to be obtained from the fortunate commercial position of Venice, could she be held in subjection. Venice, in fact, formed the link between East and West. From Constantinople she brought to Rome the rich stuffs of the East. She traded with the Mahometans of Egypt and other African lands and even held traffic with them in Christian slaves. It was evident that her prosperity was rapidly increasing and the desire to dominate her was aroused.

Submission to the Franks, her nearest and most powerful neighbours, would have meant the loss of all her freedom. The very fact of their proximity and their power, however, led to the birth of a strong party favourable to their pretensions within the Venetian confederacy, and this party was seconded by the Church, which was on friendly terms with the Franks. About the year 800, the most determined leader of this party was Fortunatus, Bishop of Grado, a restless man, fired by uncontrolled ambition and feverishly active. At the same time a new Doge, called Obelerius, had been elected, and he was also completely gained over to the Frankish party. He transferred the seat of government from Heraclea to Malamocco. Until then, these two islands had been the headquarters of two adverse factions, but now Malamocco took the lead, and, before long, Heraclea was completely destroyed. Nevertheless, the majority of the people was adverse to the Franks and Obelerius, by his open partiality for them, only succeeded in strengthening the Byzantine party. Charlemagne, intolerant of resistance, sent his son

Pippin to win over the city of the Lagoons by flattery or by force. The Venetians placed themselves under the leadership of Angelo Particiaco of Heraclea, who, assuming the power that Obelerius had lost, declared himself ready to take arms in defence of the islands, and concentrated his forces at Malamocco and Rialto. After a struggle which lasted six winter months (809–810), Pippin realised that he had not given sufficient weight to the enormous difficulty of invading Lagoons into which no war-ships could make their way, for he could neither take Malamocco nor even approach Rialto. A treaty was then drawn up by which the Venetians agreed to pay the same tribute to the Franks which they had formerly paid to the Longobards, but as a matter of fact, not a single coin was ever disbursed. Thanks to this energetic defence, the freedom of Venice was undoubtedly assured. In the year 813, the Doge Angelo Particiaco removed the seat of government to Rialto, which had proved to be the most inaccessible of the islands, and which thenceforth took the name of Venice. Meanwhile, in July, 810, Pippin had died at Milan, and later on, in January, 812, Charlemagne, convinced of the impossibility of conquering Venice, made peace with the Emperor Michael, who then solemnly recognised the Western Empire. Charlemagne, on his side, admitted the validity of the ancient ties existing between Constantinople and Venice, and the latter obtained the renewal of those trading privileges between the West and the East which it had formerly enjoyed. Its subsequent greatness dates from this peace. Its growing independence and prosperity, however, only increased the difficulty of bringing about the much-desired unity of the Western Empire.

But now a new danger was about to be added to the many perils and disorders which were the unavoidable consequences of the condition of things already described. The Saracens of Africa and Spain, animated by their adventurous spirit and their unquenchable thirst for plunder, devastation, and conquest, were continually attacking the coasts of Sardinia, Sicily, and Southern Italy, and carrying their depredations always farther afield. Not content with ravage and plunder, they carried off Christian prisoners into slavery and often obtained large sums in ransom for them. This state of things was seriously aggravated by the fact that, while inspiring terror in all, they were sometimes called in as allies by the Christian peoples of Southern Italy, who, being torn by civil dissensions and badly governed by the Byzantines, sought Saracen help in their various wars. Such calls naturally helped the power of the Moslems, and their audacity grew apace.

In 827 an insurrection broke out in Sicily against the Patrician Gregorius. The Greek general Euphemius, who had provoked it and proved unsuccessful, fled to Africa in search of aid. He made a proposal to the Saracens [1] that they should sail over and conquer the island with the help of his own followers. The Saracens, who were also much divided among themselves, hesitated for a time, but were won over by their love of adventure, lust of peril, and hope of booty. Very soon a fleet, which has been estimated at between seventy and a hundred ships, was equipped in the port of Susa. Upon these ships an army of 700 horsemen and 10,000 foot was embarked. The command was given to the Cadi,

[1] This appellation was used to denote collectively the Arabs, Berbers, and other Moslem populations of Northern Africa.

Ased, who, although aged and of studious habits, was full of valour and animated by religious fanaticism. On June 13, 827, they set sail for Sicily. This was the last of the Saracen invasions.

They effected a landing at Mazzara, but were soon confronted by the numerous army which the Byzantines had been able to get together by calling out all their reserves. Their bravery soon forced the Byzantines to give way and retreat, and they next marched to the assault of Syracuse, then the most important city of the island. By this time, owing to their serious losses in battle and to the necessity of leaving garrisons in their rear to secure their communications with the coast, their numbers were reduced to 8,000 or 9,000. The Cadi had been killed in an engagement, pestilence broke out in their ranks, and the Byzantines had received reinforcements from Constantinople. Every circumstance was against them, and they were forced to raise the siege. In the spring of 829, with renewed courage, they attacked Castrogiovanni, but without success. During the following year 20,000 men came from Africa and Spain to reinforce them, but pestilence again broke out, decimating their ranks and causing such discouragement that they were about to abandon the enterprise. Their condition, however, soon changing for the better, they concentrated all their forces, and, in the summer of 831, they lay siege to Palermo. For a whole year the city resisted them heroically; its population, tradition says, being then reduced from 70,000 to 3,000 by the rigour of the siege. It is certain, at any rate, that by the end of the year 831 the Saracens finally entered the city and established their seat of government there. From that moment Palermo became the capital of

the island, and the rule of the Saracens in Sicily, which was soon wholly in their possession, was definitely established.

They made of it a new and independent colony—almost a new State—for the ties with Africa were very slight. From this time onwards their incursions on the peninsula naturally became more frequent, and their boldness as navigators carried them even to the shores of Northern Italy.

Their incursions, as we have already observed, were frequently encouraged and even invited by the discordant parties in Italy. Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta, as subjects of the Byzantines, had previously resisted the Saracens, but when the latter were firmly established in Sicily, these maritime cities found it advantageous to enter into commercial relations with them, to favour them in every way, and eventually to seek their assistance in their quarrels with their neighbours. The Neapolitans helped them to take Messina and to complete the conquest of the island. The Longobards also invited their assistance several times during their internecine wars. Consequently the Saracens became always more daring in their incursions. The coast of Italy was no longer safe, and had to be fortified with towers at all points. Pope Gregory IV. built a fortress at Ostia, fearing that the enemies of Christianity, if they should succeed in landing there, might even attack the Eternal City.

In the midst of these calamities Pope Gregory died on the 25th of January, 844, and Sergius II., a weak and corrupt man, was elected by the mob and consecrated without the Imperial sanction. Thereupon Lothair sent his son, afterwards Louis II., to investigate the facts of the case. Louis arrived at the head

of his army. He recognised the new Pope, but at the same time he stipulated that in future no consecration should take place until the Imperial sanction had been granted. On the 15th of June he received the crown of Italy from the hands of Pope Sergius. The Romans, however, refused to tender to Louis their oath of allegiance, declaring that it could only be demanded of them by the Emperor. On this point they were in their right. At the same time the Longobards of the south came to ask Louis' aid against the Saracens. It was, however, impossible for him to assist them, for he was forced to hasten back to Pavia. No sooner was the Pope left to himself than he gave free rein to violence and licence. Simony reigned: churches, convents, benefices, were all for sale. Private citizens were despoiled, and no one was sure of his property or of his life.

It seemed then, so wrote the chroniclers, that God wished to punish the sins of the Church. On the 24th of August, 846, the Saracens landed at Ostia, in spite of the new fortress which had been erected there, and came up the Tiber to the very walls of the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. They were, however, driven back and retired on Gaeta. They were then pursued along the coast by the Neapolitan ships under the command of the Duke, who had now abandoned his alliance with the Infidels in order to defend the Pope, and finally they were compelled to take flight, losing also the greater part of their plunder in a storm.

The danger which had threatened the capital of Christendom alarmed the whole world, and the Emperor called a Council to decide what measures should be taken to ensure the safety and purification of the Church. These deliberations were facilitated

by the death of Pope Sergius II., which occurred on the 27th of January, 847, and by the election of a shrewd and honest man, Leo IV. (847–855). He waited two months for the Imperial sanction, but as it failed to arrive even then, he allowed himself to be consecrated, alleging the dangers of the moment which admitted of no further delay, while, at the same time, he fully acknowledged the Imperial rights.

The times were indeed menacing, for the Saracens were preparing a fresh invasion. Lothair accepted the Pope's apology, and they provided in concert for the defence of Rome. The city walls beyond the Tiber were extended so as to enclose the Castle of St. Angelo and the Church of St. Peter. Thus was formed the Leonine city, so named in honour of the reigning Pope. The expense of this great work was met by contributions sent by the Emperor, by the product of certain fresh taxes imposed on the Romans, and by voluntary gifts from the faithful in Germany and France. The fortifications were completed and solemnly blessed on the 27th of June, 852. Pope Leo also made further additions to the works of defence. In 849 he went to Ostia to impart his benediction to the united fleets of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, which, under the command of Sergius, son of Duke Cesareo of Naples, had beaten the Saracens and driven them back, thus saving Rome and its territory from still greater calamities. Sergius, by this action, strengthened his power in Naples, and was able to leave a peaceful dukedom to his son Gregory, who reigned there from 864 to 870.

The continual disorders and dangers which threatened Italy and the Church greatly increased the obvious need for a general recognition of the Imperial supremacy, and caused a renewal of its

strength at the very moment when it seemed about to fall to pieces. Lothair, influenced by his religious feelings, had in fact recognised that the government of Italy, which he had given over to his son Louis since 847, required his fullest attention. Louis, being then at Pavia, was ordered by his father to proceed with an army to the south to make war on the Infidels. Lothair aspired to add Southern Italy to the Empire, but Louis had neither the daring nor the material strength required for so arduous an enterprise, which would have been opposed by all the disunited populations of the southern provinces. Consequently he achieved very little, in spite of a victory gained over the Saracens in 848. All he could do was to ratify the recent separation of the Principality of Salerno from that of Benevento. This new Principality of Salerno, which extended southwards to Cosenza in Calabria, and, on the north-east, to the Gulf of Taranto, was subsequently again subdivided. Meanwhile some of the maritime towns which had formerly belonged to the Duchy of Benevento, namely, Taranto and Bari, whose position was most important, had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, and afforded them strong bases for their expeditions.

The disorders in Rome had in no way diminished, for the struggle between the nobility and the clergy was still raging. There were now three parties in the city—one in favour of the Byzantines, one Papal, and one Imperial. In addition to these rival factions, the Archbishop of Ravenna, favoured by the Emperor, was endeavouring to obtain complete independence from Papal authority. This decided Leo IV. to take energetic steps. He proceeded to Ravenna, whence the Archbishop had absented himself, and, seizing some of his most turbulent and riotous partisans, had

them carried to Rome, where they were condemned to death. But their execution being delayed by the approach of Eastertide, Lothair had time to intervene. He obtained their pardon, and at the same time requested the Pope to crown his son in St. Peter's as Emperor. The Pope consented, and the coronation took place in 850. Thus for some years there were two Western Emperors, one of whom, being resident in Italy, could more effectually influence Rome and the Pope. Meanwhile the Saracens, who retained possession of Bari from 849 to 866, continued to plunder and devastate Apulia and Calabria, while extending their depredations as far as Salerno, Benevento, and Montecassino.

Every change caused new disorders. Pope Leo died on July 17, 855, and the Emperor Lothair, who had already abdicated and retired to a Benedictine monastery, died on the 29th of September of the same year. In Rome a fierce struggle took place between the Imperial and Papal parties for the election of the new Pope. Although the Imperial candidate was supported by the two *Missi*, as well as by the Emperor Louis II. in person, the Papal candidate was victorious, and was consecrated on the 29th of September as Benedict III.

A strange legend has grown up concerning the troublous times which followed upon the death of Leo IV., but which, however, has been proved to be an invention of later days—certainly not earlier than the thirteenth century. It recounts the story of a beautiful girl, the daughter of an Anglo-Saxon, and born at Ingelheim. She is said to have given proof of remarkable intelligence when pursuing her studies at Mayence. A young Benedictine monk fell in love with her, and she, reciprocating his passion, for

his sake, entered the same order at Fulda without revealing her sex. Together they carried on their studies, and travelled to England and to Athens, where she attended the schools of philosophy, and where her lover died. Then Joan or Johannes, by which name the mysterious maiden was known, appeared in Rome. There she taught in the School of the Greeks (the name given in the legend to the Deaconry of S. Maria Scholæ Græcorum), and excited great admiration, although her sex was still undiscovered. At the death of Leo IV. the Cardinals chose her as Pope, and she was installed in the Lateran. The love of an attendant, however, proved fatal to her, although for a time her secret was preserved. One day, when taking part in a procession between the Church of St. Clement and the Colosseum, she was delivered of a child, and died forthwith. A statue representing a woman with a child in her arms, and bearing on her head the Papal tiara, was erected on the spot. The legend terminates by remarking that from that time onwards no Pope passed that way when he proceeded to his installation in the Lateran. It is difficult to know why it came to be believed that this strange episode happened after the death of Leo IV., for the legend makes no mention of him or of his times. Probably some accident or other fortuitous cause, as frequently happens, brought this about. The legend undoubtedly belongs to the thirteenth century, and was introduced into the chronicles of Mariano Scotto and Martino Polono, from which sources it was rapidly diffused. During the Pontificate of Boniface VIII., who was accused of the vilest crimes and most obscene vices, it was frequently repeated and commented on. It obtained so much credence that when, in 1400, the

Cathedral of Siena was decorated with a collection of Papal busts, that of Pope Joan, with the inscription "John VIII., a woman of England," was included among them. The bust remained in its place for two centuries, until Cardinal Baronio had it removed, replacing it by one of Pope Zacharias.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE DEATH OF LOTHAIR I. TO THAT OF LOUIS II.

(855–875)

THE death of Lothair I., who had spent his last years in a monastery, caused very little alteration in Italian affairs, which for some years had been entrusted entirely to his son, Louis II., already crowned Emperor. The Empire was now divided between the three brothers, Louis II., Lothair, and Charles, of whom the last, a weak and sickly man, died in 863, leaving his possessions to be shared between the two surviving brothers. Italy, however, remained to Louis, and continued to cause him much anxiety. In the south the Longobard nobles, especially the stewards, were constantly at war with one another, and the Neapolitans made the confusion worse by taking part in their quarrels. Capua detached itself from Salerno, in the same way as the latter had previously separated from Benevento, while other cities and fortified towns tried to follow their example. It was a period of real anarchy, very favourable to the advance of the Saracens, and scarcely had Louis tried to repulse them than he was compelled to return to Northern Italy, where other troubles demanded his presence.

But the death of Benedict III., which took place on April 7, 858, called him to Rome to superintend the new election. It proved favourable to his candidate, who was consecrated on the 24th of April under the name of Nicholas I.—a Pope who proved really great in every way. Although he might have been considered a mere creature of the Emperor, he upheld, from the very first, the religious and political independence of the Church, employing every means to this end, according to the usual Papal method. He was the first to make use of the so-called Decretals of Isidore, a collection of forged letters and Papal ordinances which had been compiled in France in defence of the interests of the clergy. These documents were employed for the purpose of securing to the Pope a kind of dictatorship over all the princes of the earth, and this naturally set him at strife with the Imperial party and with the Emperor himself, who, as he then resided in Italy, could make his influence strongly felt in Rome. In 864 he openly showed favour to some rebellious ecclesiastics whom the Pope had excommunicated. He also offered his protection to Archbishop John of Ravenna, who not only resisted the disciplinary authority of the Pope —with whom he claimed equality—but also dared to argue with him on questions of dogma. On being summoned to appear before a Synod, this prelate hastened instead to Pavia to seek the Emperor's protection. Nicholas I., however, without hesitating, began by excommunicating him in a Synod held in 862, and then, proceeding to Ravenna, reorganised the ecclesiastical administration of that see and re-established his own supreme authority there. Public opinion approved of his energetic measures; the Emperor dared not oppose him; and the Arch-

bishop, leaving Pavia, made his submission to the Pope, though with how bad a grace will be later apparent.

With the same energy the Pope threw himself into the struggle with Phocius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who was the initiator of the schism which eventually led to the complete separation of the Eastern Church from that of Rome. Phocius began the dispute by various arguments, more particularly upon the so-called "Filioque" Clause of the Creed. That is to say, he combated the Catholic doctrine which asserts that the Holy Ghost derives its being from the Father and the Son. This struggle was carried on unflinchingly by Nicholas during the rest of his life, while, at the same time, he made every possible effort to detach the Bulgarians from the Eastern Church.

But the highest proof of his personal and moral energy was afforded by his efforts to check the licentiousness of the Carolingian sovereigns. He showed himself especially severe towards the Emperor's brother Lothair, when that Prince discarded his legitimate wife, Luitberga, in order to marry his mistress, Waldrada. This new union had been sanctioned by the Council of Metz in 863, but the Pope resolutely annulled the sanction, taking part with the rightful wife. And when the Archbishops of Treves and Cologne came to Rome and stubbornly supported the claims of the woman whom the Pope called a concubine, he deposed and excommunicated them. They fled to the Emperor at Benevento, and there formed the nucleus of an Imperialist party adverse to the Pope. Finally, they persuaded the Emperor (who was accompanied by the Empress) to proceed threateningly to Rome at the head of his army. He entered the Leonine city as an enemy,

and his soldiers were permitted to indulge in acts of violence. But Nicholas I. remained firm. He passed two whole days in St. Peter's on his knees before the altar of the Apostle without touching food and without giving the slightest sign of fear. This dignified attitude made a deep impression on all, and the impression changed to terror when an Imperial soldier, who had insulted a religious procession, fell dead as though struck by lightning. Added to this the Emperor sickened with fever; then the terrified Empress induced him to hurry away to Northern Italy without accomplishing anything (864). Nicholas returned to the Lateran in triumph and there was a truce for a time.

Meanwhile the Saracens, with Bari as their base, continued to make incursions into Apulia, even advancing beyond its borders. Nor could Louis, in spite of his desire to establish the Imperial authority in those provinces and eventually aggregate them to the Empire, make head against the Infidels. They were the masters of the sea, while he had no fleet. The Longobards of Benevento, of Salerno, and of Capua, instead of uniting with him against the common foe, spent their strength in fighting one another and, in order to gratify their spite, frequently made alliances with the Saracens. This state of things induced Louis to appeal for aid to Constantinople, where, after the murder of Michael III., the Armenian Basilius had succeeded in ascending the throne and was beginning to pursue a policy very different to that of his predecessor. His first act was to depose Phocius, thereby winning the Papal favour, and he held out hopes of assistance to Louis in his war against the Infidels.

But at the moment when Louis, who had obtained a

partial victory over them in 867, was allowing himself the brightest hopes, Pope Nicholas died and was succeeded by Hadrian II. (867–872), who, having duly obtained the Imperial sanction, was consecrated on December 14th. His reign was soon disturbed by internal troubles, and it was not until they had been quieted that the Emperor could continue negotiations at Constantinople regarding the campaign against the Saracens. In this project he was seconded by the new Pope, who invited the clergy to pray "for our son, Louis II., and for the success of his arms against the Infidels" (868). All now seemed favourable. In 870 a Byzantine fleet lay before Bari, while Louis attacked the city from the mainland and succeeded in taking it during the following year. At that moment, however, dissensions broke out between the two Empires. The Byzantines intended to retain possession of the territories that were conquered from the Saracens; the Franks maintained that these should be added to the Western Empire. It was, on both sides, a question of principle, the result of the different ideas they held concerning the Empire. In the eyes of Basilius, Charlemagne and his successors were usurpers—the real Empire having its seat at Constantinople. Louis, on the other hand, upheld the theory that the Franks had received the Western Empire from the Pope and from the Romans, and that these lands formed an integral part of it. To deny the validity of Charlemagne's consecration by Leo III. was to condemn by implication the act of Samuel, who, after having anointed Saul, anointed David. The old Emperors had forfeited all their rights when they abandoned Rome and ceased to use the Imperial language.

It was as impossible to bring these two opposing

principles into harmony as it was impossible to come to any agreement with the Longobards, who, always at strife with one another, were, on this occasion, unanimous in declaring that the territories recovered from the Saracens, and which had all formed part, in previous times, of the Duchy of Benevento, should now belong to them. And as Louis fiercely opposed their claim, the discontent became so general among them that it seemed as though an insurrection of all the Longobard populations, including that of Spoleto, were imminent.

At Benevento discontent rose to the highest pitch. Since 853 Adelchi had held rule there, and he could ill brook the presence of Louis as a master in the city. Things reached such a pass that he even seized upon the Emperor's person, thereby causing great scandal.

Adelchi held the Emperor prisoner for forty days; then the news of the approach of the Saracens reached him and he thereupon set Louis free, after obtaining from him the promise that he would never again enter the city of Benevento, nor take revenge for the indignity he had suffered. Louis then returned to Rome (May 17, 872) persuaded that his promise was null because it had been forcibly extracted from him. The Pope endorsed this view, and exonerated him from the obligation of keeping it. Thence Louis proceeded towards Capua, where, continuing his campaign against the Saracens, he defeated them and compelled them to retreat to Calabria. By these campaigns he had done something towards the re-establishment of Imperial authority in the south of Italy. But Adelchi still ruled at Benevento and maintained his rebellious attitude. Louis, after further successes in one or two minor engagements, was

obliged to return to Northern Italy, where he died at Brescia on the 12th of August, 875. As he had no sons to succeed him, he left the Empire very weak and given over to discord. The hope of adding to it the southern provinces, by conquering them from the Saracens, had vanished like a dream.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE CORONATION OF CHARLES THE BALD TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FAT

(875–887)

The Emperor Louis' brother, Lothair II., had predeceased him in 869, and his two uncles, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, had seized upon his inheritance and divided it between themselves, while the Emperor Louis retained only Provence and Italy. When his death occurred in 875 the question arose as to the manner in which they should divide this further inheritance and which of them should assume the title of Emperor. Louis the German was the elder and his German realm was the stronger. But Pope Hadrian, who died in 872, had been succeeded by a man of impetuous character, John VIII. (consecrated on the 14th of December). He unhesitatingly gave his preference to Charles, who ruled in France, because that country was more like Italy. He invited him to Rome to receive the Imperial crown, almost taking upon himself the right of electing the Emperor and assuming an attitude of superiority towards him. Charles immediately repaired to Pavia but before proceeding to Rome he was obliged to

settle matters with his brother, who, much incensed by the turn of events, sent his two sons to intercept him. They were, however, defeated, and Charles the Bald was crowned in St. Peter's on Christmas Day, 875.

On the 5th of January, 876, he left Rome for Pavia, and in February he convened a diet, in which Archbishops, Bishops, Counts, and all the great dignitaries took part, declaring: "Unanimiter vos protectorem dominum ac defensorem omnium nostrum et italici regni regem eligimus." Then the Archbishop of Milan placed the Iron crown of Lombardy upon his head. Thus, for the first time, did the magnates of Italy elect their own king after the custom of the Longobards. On the 28th of August of the same year Charles' brother, Louis the German, died. This event, although removing one dangerous rival from his path, called up three more in the persons of Louis' sons—Carloman, Louis III., and Charles the Fat—whom he had once defeated, but with whom he must now continue to struggle.

While Northern Italy was in a ferment over these events, Southern Italy was again a prey to the Saracens, who, from Calabria, were advancing in a threatening way along the Mediterranean coast, assisted by the Duke of Naples and the Longobards. The latter, partly from opposition to the Emperor, partly for trading purposes, and partly to protect themselves from continual attacks and depredations, had gone so far as to conclude a close alliance with the Infidels, who, thus emboldened, appeared at Ostia, at the mouths of the Tiber, and threatened to sack the Papal States. But the high-spirited Pope managed to obtain one vessel, and, taking command of it himself, went out to fight the foe. In one of

his letters he recounts that he took eighteen of the enemy's ships, liberated 600 Christian slaves, and killed many Saracens.

The Pope then sought to persuade Duke Sergius of Naples to unite with him against the Saracens, but, failing in this, he instigated Athanasius, the Duke's brother, to bring about an insurrection in Naples against Sergius, who was seized, blinded, and sent to the Pope, by whom he was put to death. By this conduct John VIII. only brought dishonour upon himself without in any way advancing his policy, for, no sooner had Athanasius made himself master of the Duchy of Naples, than he also allied himself with the Saracens, who, more than once, threatened an attack on Rome itself. Pope John, following the example of Leo IV., founder of the Leonine city, set to work to extend the walls at another point by enclosing the basilica of St. Paul, and called the new enclosure "Johannopolis." But this proved a frivolous undertaking, of which all traces speedily vanished, and of which even the name was soon forgotten. In his great danger the Pope applied for help to Charles the Bald. The Emperor, however, could give him none, for he was himself engaged in war with his nephews. All he could do was to send orders to the two brothers, Lambert and Guy, Dukes of Spoleto, and also to the Marquis of Tuscany, that they should hasten to Rome to the Pope's assistance. But their allegiance to Charles was only nominal; as supporters of the German party they had favoured Louis the German when he had been Charles's competitor for the Imperial crown. They were also on friendly terms with many of the Pope's enemies in Rome, who, when unsuccessful in their attempts at revolt, had found a sure refuge in Tuscany and at Spoleto.

On October 6, 877, Charles the Bald died in Savoy, and was succeeded by his son, Louis the Stammerer, an incapable man, who had, at once, to continue the struggle against the three sons of Louis the German. Accordingly, the Pope could obtain no help from him, and found himself menaced on the one hand by the Saracens, and on the other by the exiled rebels who, in spite of excommunication, were safe in the protection afforded them by Lambert, Guy, and Adalbert. These princes now opposed the election of the son as they had opposed that of the father, Charles the Bald, and, united, entered armed into the Leonine city. The undaunted Pope sought an interview with them in the hope of coming to terms. Instead he was seized by his foes and kept prisoner while they intrigued in favour of the election of Carloman. Failing in this, they liberated the Pope and went off without having achieved anything and without having dared to cross the Tiber. The Pope then applied for help to all the Princes of Christendom, including the Byzantine Emperor, but in vain, and was thus compelled to purchase a truce from the Saracens by the payment of a temporary tribute.

After this he went to France in the hope of arranging a reconciliation between Louis the Stammerer and his three cousins. In this also he failed owing to the distrust of each party for the other. He had then to return to Italy, full of apprehension, bringing with him Count Boso, a powerful and ambitious man and the husband of one of the daughters of Louis II., who had been created Duke by Charles the Bald and appointed to the temporary governorship of Italy. The Pope was counting on his assistance, but in this too was deceived, for the Italians took no notice of Boso, whom they regarded as a mere adventurer.

Meanwhile the gentle and weak-minded Louis the Stammerer remained in Provence, leaving his cousins to their squabbles. Two of them, Louis III. and Charles the Fat, who aspired to the Imperial dignity, had agreed to hand over Italy to Carloman, and the latter received the oath of fealty from the magnates of the kingdom. He died, however, shortly after—in 884. The two surviving brothers then quarrelled with one another. The Pope sought to remain on good terms with both, and in the meantime continued to request help from Constantinople.

Before long it seemed as though all disorders and all contests would necessarily come to an end owing to the disappearance of the disputants. Louis the Stammerer died in 879, leaving two sons who were not yet of an age to aspire to the Imperial crown. Carloman died in 884 and Louis III. in 882, and thus, although the restless Duke Boso had excited an insurrection in Provence and had caused himself to be proclaimed King, the only legitimate successor was now Charles the Fat. In 879 he had been crowned King of Italy, in 881 the Pope crowned him Emperor, and in 882 he inherited the possessions of Louis III. It thus seemed as though all the power of the Carolingian dynasty were about to centre in him, but instead he was deposed a few years later (in 887) by his own subjects, and died in 888. The Carolingian family was evidently exhausted and destined to come to an end as the Merovingian had done before. There remained now one only son of Louis the Stammerer, Charles the Simple, a boy of seven, whom no one seemed to take into account.

In December, 882, John VIII. had fallen victim to a conspiracy. His enemies had given him poison, but finding that it failed to do its work, they had finished

him with blows from a hammer. This was the first time that the scandal of a Pope's assassination had occurred. His stormy life had been spent in party strife, always changing from side to side as ambition prompted, without trace of an ideal or even of any fixed rule of conduct. Finding himself placed between four Carolingian princes, all at loggerheads with one another, he sided with each in turn without receiving valid aid from any one of them. In spite of his courage in fighting the Saracens, their advance had been continuous. The Duke of Spoleto and the Marquis of Tuscany, who should have defended him, had been the allies of his enemies within his own city walls, and had left him no peace. We have already recounted his miserable end. He was a real representative of those tumultuous and confused times during which the Carolingian dynasty was vanishing away amidst incessant family broils, the Empire was falling to pieces, the Saracens were plundering, and dukes, marquises, bishops, princes, and kings, becoming always more independent and rebellious, were upsetting all ideas of order. Two Popes, of whom history says almost nothing, Marinus and Hadrian III., followed John VIII. Then Stephen V. (885–891) was elected, and it seemed that he must necessarily disagree with Charles the Fat. But, as we have said, the latter was deposed in 887, and died soon afterwards, leaving everything in a state of anarchy and the throne unfilled. Nor was there apparently any one capable of filling it. It seemed as though the Empire, after a long agony, were about to expire.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE ELECTION OF THE EMPEROR ARNULF TO HIS DEATH

(887–899)

The rule of the Carolingians, which had been slowly wasting away for some time, may be said to have come to an end with the death of Charles the Fat. The Empire was falling to pieces: chief among the reasons for this being the diversity of character between its component nationalities. Its dismemberment was helped on by feudalism, which tended to break up society into fragments. The weakness, and often the complete abeyance of the Imperial supremacy, led ever more to the formation and separation of the three States—Italy, France, and Germany—which composed the Empire. And in each of these countries the great feudatories wielded an ever-increasing and disturbing authority. In Italy the strongest of these feudal lords were the Marquises, On the other hand, the necessity which all felt for the reconstitution of social unity in the form of Imperial supremacy, the prestige exercised by the name of Rome, and also, to a certain extent, by the Carolingian dynasty, caused such among the great feudatories (in

Italy as well as in Germany) as could claim kinship with that family to aspire, and sometimes successfully, not only to the crown of Italy but to the Imperial dignity.

In fact, at this period many princes and sovereigns rose to a more or less independent position, and the larger number of them rallied round Arnulf, Duke of Carinthia, the leader of the rebellion which had deposed Charles the Fat. An illegitimate son of Carloman, he was in 888 elected King of Germany and became an aspirant to the Imperial throne. But he possessed neither the authority nor the strength necessary to compel the obedience of the various princes whose independence he was forced to recognise, although their pretensions seriously menaced the unity of the Empire. In France, Otho, Count of Paris, who had valiantly defended his country against the Normans, had been elected King. In Provence, the son of the fortunate usurper, Boso, and of Hermengarde, daughter of Louis II., succeeded his father. In Transjuran Burgundy, which comprised nearly the whole of modern Switzerland, Rudolf, Count of Auxerre, was the recognised ruler, and in Italy there was Berengarius, Marquis of Friuli, whose mother was Gisela, daughter of Louis the Pious. These Princes, without being Arnulf's vassals, by closing up around him strengthened, and were strengthened by him, for not one of them felt secure in his own dominions. In France the Count of Paris had several opponents. In Italy Berengarius had a powerful rival in the person of Duke Guy of Spoleto, who, since his brother Lambert's death, had reigned alone. The Duchy of Spoleto had thus become hereditary in this family, and, under Guy's rule, had increased its strength besides enlarging its boundaries at the expense of bordering

ELECTION OF A KING.

(Heidelberg MS.)

To face p. 44.

States, especially of the Duchy of Benevento. Guy's active but inconstant policy, now favourable, now adverse to the Popes, the Byzantines, the Saracens, and the Emperors, was becoming more and more menacing to his neighbours. At one time Louis II. had dispossessed Lambert and Guy, but they had soon regained the Duchy. Later on Guy had been in conflict with Charles the Fat, who had captured and deposed him in 883; but, escaping from prison, he had regained possession of Spoleto by the help of a band of Saracens. He was now at enmity with the Imperial party. Berengarius had been sent by the Emperor to attack him, but had no sooner begun operations than the plague decimated his troops and caused the failure of the campaign. In 885 Guy made his peace with the Emperor; but between him and Berengarius there existed an inextinguishable, although concealed, hatred, which was nourished by the boundless ambition of both.

After the death of Charles the Fat, Guy had hoped, through his distant relationship with the Frankish dynasty, to obtain the crown of France. But, as we have seen, this fell to Otho. Then war broke out between him and Berengarius, both of whom aspired to the crown of Italy. Their first engagement, which took place near Brescia, in 888, was of doubtful issue, but in the following year Guy obtained a victory at La Trebbia. Berengarius, who, until that moment, had felt confident of winning the Italian crown, now had to be content with the Marquisate of Friuli and the acquisition of a few important cities, such as Verona. Meanwhile Guy, having remained master of Milan, Pavia, and all the lands south of the Po, had clearly the superior right to the title of King of Italy—a title which both of them had already assumed. In

this manner the kingdom of Italy was reconstituted, but it was no longer what it had been under Louis II.; it rather resembled the early Longobard kingdom. And at the head of this new kingdom was the family which had for so long ruled Spoleto, a purely Longobard race which had fiercely resisted Pope John VIII.

These events threatened to reawaken the ancient and bitter feud between the Papacy and the Longobards which had lasted so long in former times. Stephen V. foresaw it—but what could he do? Arnulf could afford him no assistance, being wholly absorbed in his own campaigns against the Normans and Moravians. The Byzantines, ever since their capture of Bari in 876, had continued to advance threateningly, with the apparent intention of profiting by the conflict between Berengarius and Guy, hoping thus to carry on the work of Justinian, which would certainly bring no good to the Church. And, should they fail, there remained the Saracens beyond the Apennines, who had formed, between Gaeta and the Garigliano, a strongly fortified encampment, from which they issued continually to plunder the neighbourhood and to menace the Papal States and even Rome itself.

The Pope was on this account driven into an agreement with Guy, who, for his part, was anxious that his past deeds should be forgotten. He attacked the Saracens, and succeeded in temporarily destroying their military colony on the Garigliano, thereby freeing Rome from danger. And for this Stephen spoke of him in his letters as "our only son." The Pope, indeed, would have preferred Arnulf, with whom he continued to negotiate in secret, but, realising that the latter was too far off and too much engaged in warfare beyond the Alps, he at last, on the 21st of February, 891, in St. Peter's, ended by placing the Imperial

crown on the head of his powerful and well-equipped neighbour, Duke Guy of Spoleto.

In reality Stephen had only made a virtue of necessity, for in no way was it pleasing to the Popes to have an Italian Emperor. At the moment it had been impossible to act otherwise, and Pope Formosus, who succeeded Stephen in September, 891, not only recognised Guy as Emperor, but, agreeing to his request that his son, Lambert, should be his coadjutor in the Empire, crowned him also at Ravenna in 892. Doubtless in his heart this Pope also would have much preferred Arnulf, and when he heard that the latter had partially freed himself from the dangers by which he was surrounded beyond the Alps, he urged him at once to come to Italy. Arnulf arrived in 894 with a small and feeble army, and was well received at Milan and Pavia. The powerful Marquises of Tuscany, Adalbert and his brother Boniface, in their jealousy of Guy, declared themselves Arnulf's partisans and vassals. But Guy, who was brave as well as powerful, prepared for war without hesitation. Fate was, however, against him, for in the same year he died suddenly, and was succeeded by his son Lambert, of a courage as high as his own. Lambert's inborn ambition was now ardently stimulated by his mother, Agiltrude, daughter of that Adelchi, Duke of Benevento, who, in 871, had dared to lay hands upon the sacred person of the Emperor Louis II. and hold him prisoner for some days. In this manner the ancient hatred of the Longobards for the Franks was further increased by maternal ambition and by the struggle for the Empire. Agiltrude was in Rome, encouraging the Spoletan party by every means she could employ to resist the German whom the faithless Pope Formosus was favouring, and thus betraying the

cause of the man whom he had himself crowned at Ravenna. Arnulf, who had returned to Germany, now recrossed the Alps at the head of a strong force. In February, 896, he entered Rome, and in the course of the same month was crowned by the Pope in St. Peter's. Leaving one of his military commanders, Faroldo, in charge of Rome, he advanced upon Spoleto. On the way, however, he was struck down by paralysis, and had to be carried back to Germany in a litter, with no hope of ever returning to Italy to assume the Imperial power. Soon after, on the 4th of April, Pope Formosus died, leaving a deep and inextinguishable loathing behind him on account of his betrayal of the Spoletan cause in favour of the German. His successor, Boniface VI., only reigned fifteen days, and was followed by the Bishop of Anagni, who took the name of Stephen VI.

Arnulf was quite forgotten, and everything seemed favourable to Lambert. He entered into an agreement with Berengarius to the effect that the Adda and the lower Po should mark the boundaries of their respective territories. Lambert's position was in every way superior, for, besides being lord of such important cities as Pavia and Milan, he was also master of the Duchy of Spoleto and had received the title of Emperor in addition to that of King of Italy. Feeling secure in Northern Italy, he now proceeded with his mother to Rome and, in spite of Faroldo's resistance, entered the city in 897.

And now Agiltrude, in her thirst for vengeance on Pope Formosus, would not even respect his sepulchre, which had been closed for eight months. She succeeded in making Stephen VI., already disposed to second her, the instrument of her wild fury. A strange and horrible trial then took place. The corpse of

Formosus, still clad in Pontifical vestments, was dragged from the tomb and carried before a Synod. There it was placed in a sitting posture with a deacon beside it, who, trembling with fear, had to reply to the questions addressed to the dead Pope. The past conduct of Formosus was examined, and, by recalling into vigour certain points of canon law which had long been obsolete, his election was declared null and void by reason of its having taken place while he was still Bishop of Porto. In earlier times the translation of a bishop from one see to another had been forbidden by canon law. No account was taken of the fact that this prohibition had long since yielded to custom, nor was any allusion made to the fact that the two successors of Formosus were in conditions no less abnormal. Boniface had twice been under sentence of removal from office—once while a deacon, and once when a priest—and Stephen VI., who was now bringing the charge against the dead Pope, had been actually Bishop of Anagni at the time of his election to St. Peter's throne, and was, therefore, in precisely the same position as Formosus, whose election, together with his decrees and ordinances, was now being annulled. By an ingenious piece of sophistry, Stephen maintained that his own nomination by Formosus to the Bishopric of Anagni had no further value from the moment that the latter's ordinations were annulled, so that any canonical irregularity in his own election to the Papacy no longer existed. When sentence had been given, the corpse of Formosus, stripped of its vestments and covered only by a hair shirt, was thrown into an unconsecrated grave, whence it was dragged by the populace and cast into the Tiber.

This horrible tragedy brought about a reaction in

favour of the German party and a rebellion against Stephen VI., who, in the autumn of the same year, 897, was seized, stripped—he, too, of his Pontifical robes—hastily clad in a monk's frock and locked up in a monastery where, shortly afterwards, he was strangled. He was the second murdered Pope.

Two Popes followed—Romanus, who only reigned four months, and Theodore II., who, although his Pontificate only lasted for twenty days, succeeded in performing some acts of reparation towards the memory of Formosus. His corpse had been deposited by a flood upon the bank of the Tiber within the boundaries of his former diocese of Porto, and a monk, having found it, had piously buried it. Theodore had it exhumed, reclothed in Pontifical robes and, with due pomp and ceremony, replaced within its original tomb in the atrium of St. Peter's—from which sacrilegious rancour had torn it. A legend relates that, on the arrival of the corpse, the saintly images which had been painted in St. Peter's by order of Formosus bowed their heads in approval. After this a Council was held which reinstated the priests whom Stephen VI. had destituted.

So ended the sad year of 897. But at the death of Theodore all the scandals and quarrels were revived. The two opposing parties elected two different Popes. Sergius III. was the candidate of the followers of Stephen VI., but John IX., supported by Formosus's party, proved the stronger. His wish was to follow a temperate and peaceful policy in favour of the Emperor Lambert, whose course seemed clear now that Arnulf was reduced to impotence and now that the Pope had annulled by two Councils the acts of that Council convoked by Stephen against Formosus. It was further decreed

that henceforth no corpse should be brought before judges, and the validity of the acts of Formosus was recognised, with the exception of his consecration of Arnulf, *unctio illa barbarica per surreptionem extorta.* Likewise the rights of the Emperor consequent upon his jurisdiction in Rome were recognised, and it was decreed that, in future, the Papal elections should always take place in the presence of the Imperial *Missi.* All this was are calling into force of Lothair's constitution.

It now seemed as though Lambert, favoured alike by the Pope and the Imperialists, and having nothing to fear from the German Emperor, need only take his rival Berengarius into account and that he could easily overcome every difficulty. But he who was said to be the handsomest and most gallant youth of his day, while hunting near Marengo, on the 15th of October, 898, fell from his horse and was killed. Some writers say that he was murdered. In 899 the Emperor Arnulf died, and in 900 Pope John followed him to the grave. And thus everything seemed about to change.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE HUNGARIAN INVASION TO THE DEATHS OF BERENGARIUS I. AND JOHN X.

(898–928)

Berengarius hastened to Pavia and was duly accepted as King of Italy. Death had swept from the field his rival competitors, Lambert and Arnulf, and he was supported by Adalbert, Marquis of Tuscany. Fortune appeared to favour him and aroused his hope of attaining to the Imperial dignity. But at this moment an entirely new turn was given to affairs by the sudden incursion of the Hungarians, who descended upon Italy like a devastating cyclone. It was said that they came in answer to an invitation from Arnulf, who, feeling the approach of death, wished to place obstacles in Berengarius's path and to prevent the revival of the Italian party in the Peninsula. At all events Berengarius was now obliged to devote all his energies to the task of combating this new and formidable foe.

The name "Hun-Ugri"—Hungarians—was given by the Slavs of Eastern Europe to the Turanian races which came from the Urals and called themselves Magyars. Towards the end of the ninth

century they invaded the country watered by the lower Danube and the Theiss—the Hungary of the present day—under their leader Arpad (899–907). Their armed force was supposed to consist of 216,000 men, from which it may be inferred that the whole population numbered no less than a million. On their first appearance among the Slav tribes, whom they split into two parts, they were still savages of nomadic habits. They fed on raw meat, which led to the popular belief that they were cannibals and drank the blood of their slain enemies. Their chief riches consisted of great droves of horses. They were small men with deeply sunken eyes; their heads were partially shaven, but three long plaits of hair fell upon their shoulders. Most able as bowmen, so firm in the saddle as to resemble centaurs, and totally insensible to fatigue, their sole occupation was warfare. They plundered wherever they went, putting old men, women, and children to the sword and carrying off the most robust of the young men. They met with little resistance from the Slavs, who were all at discord with one another, and for half a century the Hungarians were the terror of Europe. Finding the Empire in a dismembered condition, they easily pushed their way into Germany, France, and Italy. Germany was especially tormented by them until Otho I. routed them at Lechfeld in 855. In the reconstitution of the Empire which followed this battle, they would probably have shared the fate of the Avars—a race whose very name disappeared—had they not saved themselves by embracing Christianity and thereby obtaining the power of forming themselves into a recognised nation. This was the work of their King, Stephen I. (995–1038).

When the Hungarians appeared for the first time

in Italy, in 899, Berengarius marched valiantly against them. But he was repulsed at La Trebbia on the 24th of September, and this defeat proved disastrous to his precarious position. The recent death of Arnulf, whose sole heir was a young child, had proved less advantageous to Berengarius than might have been supposed. Another claimant to the Imperial crown had arisen in the person of Louis of Provence, the son of Boso and Hermengarde, daughter of Louis II. A connection such as this could hardly be said to give him any real claim to the Empire, but it gave him a pretext for seeking to obtain it, especially as Pope Benedict IV., who had succeeded John IX., was so decidedly on his side that he proceeded to crown him in St. Peter's in February, 901. This is the only important act of Benedict's Pontificate which history records. Berengarius, however, nothing daunted, gave battle to Louis, and after defeating him compelled him to withdraw to Provence, exacting from him a solemn promise that he would never return to Italy. When, however, Louis realised that the enemies of Berengarius were ready to rise against his rule, and when, moreover, they invited him to return to Italy, he broke his oath, consented to come, and, crossing the frontier, marched into Verona. There he was betrayed into the hands of Berengarius, who, after having him blinded, sent him back to Provence, robbed of all hope of future Italian enterprises. But the disorder in Italy remained unabated, for the enemies of Berengarius had not lost heart nor could he contrive to improve his position. His defeat by the Hungarians had thinned his forces; the territory over which he ruled was small, and he could in no way enlarge it; his capture of Louis had been effected by

treachery, and had neither strengthened him in any way nor added to his prestige; moreover, the Hungarians were still a menace to him. In fact, the condition of affairs seemed altogether hopeless.

Nor was the state of things in Rome any better. The dominant party there was that of the violent and tumultuous lay aristocracy, *Judices de Militia*, which had long held the upper hand of the ecclesiastical aristocracy, *Judices de Clero*, and was headed by a most powerful family whose commands were obeyed in all matters and by every one. This family consisted of the Vestiarius Theophylactus, *Dux et Magister Militum*, who likewise assumed the titles of *Senator et Consul*, of his wife Theodora, who was called *Vestiarissa* and *Senatrix*, and of his two daughters Marozia and Theodora. They now wielded greater authority in Rome than the Pope himself. The three women, as famous for their beauty as they were notorious for their licentiousness and gift of intrigue, met with no hindrance to their tyranny. This political ascendancy of dissolute women is frequently found existing in very corrupt societies, but it is rare to meet with a spectacle of such scandal and disorder. Benedict IV. died in July, 903, and was succeeded by Leo V., who, after wearing the tiara for less than two months, was deposed and imprisoned by a Cardinal, Christopher, who succeeded him. Early in the following year, Sergius, the rival of John IX., who had been in exile since 898, reappeared on the scene, and, seemingly with the help of Berengarius's Italian followers, was able to incarcerate Christopher (without liberating Leo V.) and obtain recognition as Pope under the name of Sergius III. (904–911). He at once undid the work of his two predecessors because they had

followed the policy of Formosus and revived the persecution of this Pope's memory. The so-called German party was again attacked. Sergius did not go so far as to disinter the body of Formosus once more, but he caused the following epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb: "Hic primum repulit Formosi spurca superbi culmina qui invasit sedis Apostolicae." Again a Council was called to annul the decrees of Formosus on the pretext that he had not been elected in conformity with canon law; and again was the fact passed over that the election of Sergius was equally irregular—he having received the Bishopric of Cere from Formosus and still holding it at the time of his election. All priests who had been ordained by Formosus, if they had not done so already, were now obliged to resign their orders and be ordained afresh. All acts performed by them during these years were annulled. There was even a prohibition against calling Formosus a priest when he was mentioned in letters. Protests were raised against these tyrannical proceedings, but without any effect.

Meanwhile Theophylactus and Theodora distributed lavish rewards to their followers, and were supported by the Pope, who was known to be the lover of Marozia, by whom he had a son who was subsequently elected to the Papacy. The depth of corruption then reached is proved by the fact that Sergius reigned undisturbed for seven years and died a natural death. Two other Popes, whose reigns were brief and about whom hardly anything is known, succeeded him, and then came John V., who was said to have owed his election to his adulterous relations with Theodora. His reign lasted for fourteen years—914–928. He had been appointed Bishop of Ravenna by For-

mosus and held that position at the time of his election to the Papal throne. Accordingly his election should have been considered quite as irregular as those of Stephen VI., John IX., and Sergius III., and should have been annulled in the same way as that of Formosus. Nevertheless the convenient pretext that the ordinations of Formosus, having been annulled, could in nowise impair the position of those who had received them, was again employed in this case.

Now that the secular aristocracy of Rome was the dominant body, a semblance of the ancient Senate was resuscitated. This assembly chose Theophylactus for its Consul and Governor, and his power was increased by the intrigues of his dissolute wife Theodora and her no less dissolute daughters, Marozia, the mistress of Pope Sergius, and Theodora II. The mother's beauty and immorality were combined with much shrewdness and great force of character. "Romanae civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinuit." She proved her shrewdness by endeavouring to bring about the marriage of her daughter Marozia with Alberic, one of the most powerful men in Rome. This Alberic was a captain of adventure who had fought first under Guy of Spoleto, then under Berengarius, and afterwards had made himself master of Spoleto by murdering (it was said) the last scion of the reigning family. In the year 897 he appears to have enjoyed the titles of Marquis of Camerino and Duke of Spoleto, and there is no doubt that his authority was well established at that date. He was able to increase it still further by the energetic part he now played in the campaign against the Saracens, who had again assumed a menacing attitude.

After their defeat in the South in 885, they had succeeded, with the help of Naples and Gaeta, in recovering from its effects and in reconstructing their encampment on the Garigliano ; and their depredations in the Sabine district began afresh. The monks of Farfa, after a stubborn defence of their monastery, which, together with its lands, formed a sort of small ecclesiastical Principality, were finally compelled to abandon it, and it was then occupied by the Saracens, who used it as an outwork to their fortified camp on the Garigliano. From this new base they again threatened Rome. It had now become the object of all parties to rid themselves of this curse and to destroy this nest of Infidels from the midst of a Christian population. More than other Princes, the Pope felt the necessity for this task of destruction, and, having no one else to assist him, appealed to Berengarius for aid, at the same time hinting at the chance of his obtaining the Imperial crown. Berengarius, unable for the moment to head the enterprise, because his hands were full in Northern Italy, incited his vassals of Spoleto and Tuscany to undertake it in his stead. This was Alberic's opportunity. He marched with his army to Rome and thence advanced against the Saracens, whom he drove back to the Garigliano. Encouraged by this first success, the Pope gave his strong approval and support to an alliance between the various Southern Italian States and the Byzantines that had been already initiated at Capua with the object of forcing the Saracens to evacuate Italy.

Thus was formed one of the most remarkable leagues of that time. Together with the Longobard States, Naples and Gaeta were drawn into it by means of golden promises. Byzantine ships united

with those of Naples and of the Pope. From Apulia and Calabria came Byzantine troops who joined forces with those of Capua, Salerno, and Benevento. From the North came the Romans, together with the Tuscans and Spoletans under the command of Theophylactus, of Alberic, and even of the Pope, who thus proved himself a worthy successor of John VIII. We learn from his letters that he twice attacked the Infidels at the head of his soldiers. But Alberic distinguished himself above all others and fought *ut leo fortissimus*. A decisive battle took place, according to some writers, in 915, although others assign it to 916, and it was an event of real historic importance. The Saracens, surrounded by their enemies, were completely routed on the Garigliano.[1] Thus was the dreaded encampment, which had wrought so much harm to the Southern peoples and which was the last Saracen stronghold, destroyed, and only a few of its defenders escaped to the mountains. The Pope, Theophylactus, and Alberic returned in triumph to Rome. Here Theodora, always keen in the pursuit of power, succeeded in marrying her daughter Marozia to Alberic—an alliance which was advantageous to both parties. The Pope, too, disregarding the fact that Louis, although blinded and helpless, was still living, chose this moment for placing the Imperial crown on the head of Berengarius, who thus at last attained to the goal he had so long striven for. The exact date of this coronation is unknown to us. All that we know with certainty is that the earliest diploma signed by him as Emperor,

[1] Two authors have recently published accounts of this battle. Professor Fedele in the "Archivio Storico della Società romana di Storia Patria," vol. xxii. p. 195 *et seq.*, and Mr. Gay in "L'Italie méridionale et l'Europe Byzantine," p. 162 *et seq.* Paris, 1904.

that remains in existence, bears the date of September 8, 915.[1] The uncertainty as to the date of the coronation has caused some historians to consider it antecedent to the battle of the Garigliano, inferring that the Pope had by this means induced Berengarius to assist in the campaign; whereas others maintain that it was of subsequent date and bestowed by the Pope in reward for help received.

The general condition of Italy was rapidly deteriorating. The feebleness of the supreme authority brought an increase of power to the Marquisates. This increase had the same effect in Italy as it had in the German Duchies; that is to say, it lowered the position of the Counts, who withdrew from the cities and resided altogether on their estates. During the tenth century social life in Italy was going through a period of transformation which was caused by the growing power of the Marquises, of whom more than one succeeded in obtaining the kingship of Italy and the Imperial crown. These Marquises were consistently adverse to the Counts while favouring the Bishops, who thus became very powerful in the cities. In time this course of action, as we shall presently see, encouraged the growth of independent communes. The diplomas of the Kings of Italy, especially those of Berengarius I., show an uninterrupted series of grants of land, of immunities, of privileges, and of permissions to build walls, embankments, and trenches, awarded to Bishops, monasteries, and churches. Apparently these sovereigns counted on the Church as their chief support. The Empire had fallen so low that it seemed to be at the mercy of the Popes,

[1] "The Diplomas of Berengarius I.," No. cviii., published in the "Fonti" of the "Istituto Storico Italiano," by Professor L. Schiapparelli. Rome, 1903.

Photo] *[Bianchi, Monza.*

THE IRON CROWN.

To face p. 60.

who, in their turn, reckoned upon its assistance against the numerous foes by whom they were surrounded.

Before long the Sicilian Saracens were again threatening Southern Italy, while the Moors from Spain invaded Liguria and carried their depredations into Piedmontese territory. In this state of affairs, with Louis reduced to helplessness, Berengarius, though a neighbour and a powerful one, had been crowned Emperor. But no Pope could tolerate with good grace an Italian Emperor who, by the nature of things, could make his supremacy felt. Accordingly John X. now sought to incite the Marquises of Lombardy and Tuscany against the man he had crowned with his own hands, and strove above all to influence Adalbert, Marquis of Ivrea, who had married a daughter of Berengarius. Not content with these intrigues, he pursued the ever-recurring Papal policy of seeking the assistance of foreign potentates by inviting Rudolf II., King of Transjuran Burgundy, to Italy. The latter readily obeyed the summons and appeared at Pavia, where a favourable reception had been prepared for him and where he was crowned King of Italy in 922. Berengarius, enraged by this proceeding, adopted the desperate expedient of applying to the Hungarians for help. By this action he injured his country without gaining any advantage for himself, for the Hungarians poured down into Italy, plundering and destroying as they went and setting fire to the city of Pavia itself, without, however, giving him any valid support. He therefore had to confront Rudolf with a still weaker army. As usual, he fought with great valour, but the issue of the engagement was doubtful. Rudolf withdrew to Burgundy and Berengarius retired to Verona,

where he was treacherously assassinated in 924. Thus ended the life of this brave man, the third and last Italian King of Italy who also wore the Imperial crown. Soon afterwards, in 928, the blinded Louis, now reduced to a shadow of his former self, followed him to the grave.

The Imperial throne was now vacant, and it remained so for thirty-seven years. Although the need of an Emperor for the general welfare was everywhere felt, it was more especially necessary in Italy to stem the flood of anarchy and to defend her against her many foes. The Hungarians overran Northern Italy and almost reached the walls of Rome; the Saracens still infested the South; and the great feudatories, instead of forming a defensive alliance among themselves, were continually at war with one another. In Rome disorder reigned. It is difficult for us to understand how it came about that after their triumphal return from the battle of the Garigliano, Theophylactus and Alberic should have completely vanished from the scene. It would appear that, by his exorbitant demands, Alberic made an enemy of the Pope and that the latter caused him to be besieged in his Castle of Orte, where he had taken refuge (having also, it is said, appealed to the Hungarians for help), and that he was killed there. His widow, Marozia, however, together with the son she had borne him (also called Alberic and as brave as his father), survived, and her influence in Rome was undiminished. In Northern Italy another woman, famous for her seductive beauty, became all-powerful. Her name was Bertha, and she was the daughter of that Waldrada who had been the cause of the scandalous separation of Lothair, King of Lorraine, from his legitimate wife. By her first husband, Theo-

bald of Provence, Bertha had a son named Hugh, for whom she sought to obtain the crown of Italy. By her second husband, Adalbert of Tuscany, she had two sons, Guy and Lambert, and one daughter, Hermengarde. This daughter, who was also counted among the numerous beautiful, dissolute, and domineering women of that time, at first took the part of Rudolf, but later on joined forces with her mother in the attempt to obtain for her half-brother Hugh not only the Italian crown but the Empire as well. The Italian magnates favoured his cause, and he was likewise supported by the Pope, who hoped by this means to rid himself of Marozia's presumptuous petulance in Rome. Hugh was invited to Italy: in 926 he was at Pisa and thence went to Pavia, where he was crowned. At Mantua he had an interview with the Pope, and apparently they came to an agreement.

But Marozia was fully alive to the purport of these proceedings. She understood that the aggrandisement of Hugh was directed against herself, and by her infernal machinations she induced Guy, the eldest son of Adalbert and Bertha and half-brother to Hugh, to take her to wife. By this means she checked the intrigues of Bertha and Hermengarde and at the same time heightened her own power in Rome. John X., on his return from Mantua, found himself isolated in Rome, and the only help he could count on was that of his brother Peter, accused by rumour of having murdered Alberic at Orte. The Pope had a few Hungarians in his pay, and he trusted to them to defend him against the Tuscan partisans of Guy and Marozia. But the latter, always on the alert, instigated her adherents in Rome to rebellion. They entered the Lateran, murdered Peter in the Pope's presence, and then imprisoned the latter in the Castle

of St. Angelo, where he was suffocated by means of a pillow (928). Thus ended his stormy and agitated life, passed among the tumults caused by three dissolute women, to one of whom he owed the Papal crown, while the other had robbed him of it and of his life. Nevertheless, his Pontificate was not without some moments of glory. The League against the Saracens was his work, and he had taken an honourable part in the ensuing campaign. Also the efforts he had made to reorganise Italy under Berengarius gave proof of his political acumen. Unfortunately, he was incapable of pursuing a steady policy, and by his frivolous change of tactics destroyed all he had achieved. The Church was indebted to him for the favour he extended to the great monastic reform that was inaugurated at Cluny during his reign and which effectually arrested the decadence and corruption of monasteries in all parts of Europe.

CHAPTER VII

ALBERIC'S DOMINATION IN ROME

(928–941)

In 928, as we have seen, after the deaths of the blind Louis and John X., which followed shortly upon one another, Hugh of Provence, who had received the crown of Italy in 926, remained alone upon the scene. Shortly afterwards the magnates recognised his son as sharer of the throne, and Hugh now aspired to the Imperial dignity. In Pavia Hugh lived the life of a dissolute despot, even keeping a kind of harem. In Rome Marozia reigned, and, in the words of the Monk of Soracte, "Subjugatus est Romam potestative in manu feminae." For several years the elections of the Popes were decided by her, the first of her nominees being Leo VI. (928), whose reign only lasted a few months. The second was Stephen VII., who reigned from 929 to 931. Finally she brought about the election of John XI., then hardly more than a child, who was generally supposed to be her son by Pope Sergius III. John XI. reigned from 931 to 935. As the Pope's mother, she felt herself now more than ever the assured mistress of Rome, and her ambition became boundless. At this juncture,

however, her husband Guy died, and, as the Marquisate of Tuscany passed to his brother Lambert, her power was greatly weakened. But Hugh's wife was also dead, and this suggested to Marozia's plotting brain the plan of marrying him. By this means she hoped to become not only Queen of Italy but eventually even Empress, naturally counting on the Pope's support. Although no longer young, her beauty, assisted by arts she so well knew how to employ, sufficed for the success of this new scheme. In March, 932, King Hugh came to Rome at the head of his army, and his marriage with Marozia, who meanwhile had assumed the titles of Senatrix and Patrician, was solemnised in the Tomb of Hadrian (Castle of St. Angelo), which she had appropriated as her residence.

Apparently she had now reached the height of her ambition, but in reality her fall was near at hand. By her first husband, the valiant Alberic, she had a son, also called Alberic, who was worthy of his father's name. His proud spirit could ill brook his mother's rapid succession of husbands, and when she forced him to perform a page's service to his haughty and dissolute stepfather his indignation broke out. One day when handing a cup to Hugh, either by inadvertence or malice, he spilt some of its contents over the King's hands, who, giving way to temper, publicly struck him. This insult brought about a revolution. Alberic, beside himself with rage, rushed from the castle and harangued the people, bidding them rise against the insupportable rule of a woman and of barbarians who, in ancient times, had been the slaves of Rome. The mob then surrounded the castle without any difficulty, for Hugh's troops were encamped outside the city walls. Hugh, within the castle, lost heart and thought of nothing but his own safety. By

means of a rope he let himself down from the walls and fled, abandoning his wife, forswearing his honour as a soldier and forgetting his ambitious projects.

Alberic, realising that he was now master of Rome, imprisoned his mother, placed his bastard half-brother, the Pope, under a strict guard, assumed the title of "Princeps atque omnium Romanorum Senator," and took into his own hands the political government of the city and its territory, while he left to the Pope spiritual powers alone. Such action was facilitated by the fact that, already for some time past—that is to say, since the Pontificate of Sergius III.—the Popes had almost entirely lost their political authority, which had been usurped by the secular aristocracy, headed by Theophylactus and his womenfolk. The son of Marozia might be said to have inherited this authority, and he showed great energy and intelligence in its exercise. He was the first civil Governor of Rome, and, finding himself beset by many and grave difficulties, proved himself a true statesman.

Since the battle of the Garigliano the Saracens of Southern Italy had been rendered harmless. Spoleto and Tuscany were very weak; the Exarchate and the Pentapolis had now been for some time aggregated to the kingdom of Italy, the Popes having apparently abandoned all claim to them. Alberic's rule was confined to the old Roman Duchy, and it is evident that he had no wish to extend it. But meanwhile Hugh, wishing to revenge himself, maintained a threatening attitude. His army, however, was no longer as strong as it had been, and Marozia had disappeared from the scene—it is not known how. His marriage with her had brought him certain advantages, but it had deprived him of the goodwill of the celebrated, beautiful, and powerful Hermengarde, who had been

his first protectress and had helped him to rise. His ignominious flight from Rome had also lowered him in the eyes of the magnates. They now sought another candidate for the Italian crown, and found one in the person of Rudolf II. of Burgundy, whom they invited to Italy without delay. Hugh, however, bribed him by many concessions beyond the Alps, and succeeded in persuading him not to make the venture. When Rudolf died in 937, leaving one son, Conrad, then ten years old, and one daughter, Adelaide, who, as we shall see, was also destined to be much talked of, Hugh espoused Rudolf's widow Bertha and married Adelaide to his son Lothair on the 12th of December, 937. Though unable to regain the favour of the magnates or facilitate his ascent to the Imperial throne, Hugh had now improved his position and found himself strong enough to move against Alberic at the moment when the latter was struggling to establish a strong government in Rome and to destroy all germs of rebellion there.

With the disappearance of Marozia female rule had come to an end in Rome, and the Pope seemed resigned to the loss of all share in the government of the city and duchy. Alberic was the master, for he commanded the nobles and the army, which was divided into *Scholae*, a kind of association forming the regiments which the nobles led. It would seem that the definite reorganisation of the Roman army was Alberic's work. It was divided into twelve *Scholae*, corresponding to the twelve divisions of the city and commanded by twelve *Banderesi*, or standard-bearers, similar to the *Gonfalonieri* of the Florentine armed companies. Later on these standard-bearers will be found at the head of the Commune after its constitution. For the moment we have to deal only with a

sort of Principality or Dukedom, similar to those of Naples or Amalfi, independent, however, alike of the Eastern and Western Empires. The old Senate had disappeared, but the name remained and was applied to the nobility in general, which, although not forming an Assembly, governed the city under Alberic's orders and was firmly controlled by him. His was a personal and almost absolute rule, and for this reason the partisans of the temporal power of the Popes dubbed him a tyrant and opposed him in every way. At that time public acts were still dated from the election of the Pope : the coinage bore the Pope's name, together with that of Alberic, which took the place previously occupied by the name of the Emperor. He administered justice, presiding over the same tribunal which had formerly held its sittings in the hall of the Lateran palace (called *ad lupam* from the bronze wolf which stood there and which the Romans called *Mater Romanorum*) but which now met in various places, often in Alberic's own palace in Via Lata.

The great power that he exercised was due above all to his personal qualities, but was enhanced by the prestige his father had acquired at the battle of the Garigliano, by his mother's former ascendancy, and by his vast possessions both outside Rome and in the city itself, where he owned the Castle of St. Angelo, his mother's former residence, as well as several palaces. It is remarkable, too, that in such a calumnious age, the only accusation ever brought against him was that of having usurped the Pope's temporal power. There can be no doubt that Alberic was a man of strong and independent character. He appears, in the history of Italy, as the first of that astonishing series of individuals who, at a much later date, became so numerous and who set their mark upon the Renas-

cence—men who owed everything to their personal qualities and who never, as was the case even with the great Popes and Emperors of the Middle Ages, lost themselves in the institutions of which they formed a part nor merged with the crowds they represented.

Alberic's personal and political courage is proved not only by the energy and intelligence with which he seized on power and continued to govern Rome with an iron rule, safeguarding it from external and internal perils, but also by what may be called his ecclesiastical policy. The Benedictine monasteries which, in former times, had done so much to benefit religion, society, and civilisation, had, for some time past, become scandalously corrupt. Monks and abbots lived with their concubines outside the precincts of the monasteries, appropriating to their own private use the income of the community and even the sacred ornaments; but what is more, murders for motives of rivalry or personal jealousy were frequent among them. It was dangerous to attempt to curb these growing scandals, but finally, as is often the case, the excess of the evil brought about a salutary reaction, and, in 910, measures of reform were initiated by Brother Bernard of Cluny, the founder of a new monastery there. This movement was continued and widely diffused in other religious houses by Bernard's follower Otho. The latter came frequently to Rome to confer with the Pope, and became known to Alberic, who not only encouraged him but charged him to reform various monasteries in the city. Alberic, moreover, presented him with a palace he possessed on the Aventine for the purpose of founding there a new religious establishment—St. Mary of the Aventine. With equal perspicacity he promoted in his States the reform of

several of those large abbeys which had grown to resemble small Dukedoms or Marquisates. Under good administration they would not only be of advantage to the population dependent upon them, but would help to consolidate Alberic's power. For this reason he made generous concessions and grants to some of these abbeys, giving them fresh lands, together with the peasants who tilled them, and the right to exercise justice.

Among these great abbeys, the most celebrated and powerful was that of Farfa which, destroyed, as we have seen, by the Saracens, was afterwards rebuilt. Its monks had now sunk lower than any others. Alberic forced upon it reform because he wished to subjugate it together with its great possessions to the rule of Rome, of which the abbey considered itself independent. To obtain this end a military expedition was necessary, for the monks were prepared for defence. Alberic never completely succeeded in his purpose, for the abbot whom he imposed upon the monks was poisoned a few years later. At any rate, the part which Alberic took in promoting the Cluny reform in Italy does him great credit, while it is remarkable that even in this matter, which was of such importance to the Church, history says little or nothing as to the actions of the five Popes (John XI., Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Marinus II., Agapetus II., 931–956), whose Pontificates succeeded one another during his rule. This would prove that he had concentrated all power in his own hands.

Alberic had to fight against difficulties from without as well as within. The former were, as we have already seen, to a great extent created by Hugh, who, not content with the crown of Italy, aspired to that of the Empire as well, while, at the same time, keenly

desiring to avenge himself on the man who had driven him out of Rome and had possessed himself of the city. Alberic, conscious that by many he was looked upon as a mere adventurer, now sought to ally himself by marriage with the family of the Emperor of Constantinople, and was ready, on that account, to break all ties with the kingdom of Italy and with the Western Empire, whoever its representative might be. But he failed in his project, and meanwhile Hugh repeatedly laid siege to Rome. His first attack, in 933, was easily repulsed. In 936 Hugh was again under the walls, but was equally unsuccessful owing to an outbreak of illness among his men. At that time the famous monk Otho was in Rome, carrying on the work of the Cluny reform. He interposed in favour of peace, and was able to arrange a marriage between Hugh's daughter and Alberic, who, having given up all hope of success in his negotiations with Constantinople, readily fell in with the proposal because by this means he became allied with the blood royal. But King Hugh soon found that he had been mistaken in supposing that by consenting to this marriage he would be able to induce Alberic to give up, even in part, his absolute and independent sovereignty, or allow Hugh to be crowned Emperor in St. Peter's. The King, therefore, made a third attempt, in 941, to take Rome by force. Alberic, at the head of the Romans, fought him with so much energy and with such good luck that the chroniclers ascribed his victory to the will of God.

Hugh, now called back to Italy by grave events, once and for all abandoned the walls of Rome. The cunning methods he had adopted to smooth the way to Empire had been of no avail. In 931, in the

vain hope of consolidating his dynasty, he had caused his son Lothair to be proclaimed his coadjutor in the government of the kingdom of Italy. His own marriage with Bertha, widow of Rudolf, and the marriage of his son with the famous Adelaide (daughter of the same Rudolf), who brought with her as a dower certain rights and claims to the Imperial succession, had been arranged for the same purpose but had proved useless. Italy was now tired of this ambitious and incapable tyrant. Hating the Italian Marquises and Counts, he had distributed, so Luitprand affirms, Italian dignities to Burgundian favourites and to the sons of his concubines so lavishly as to make the historian exclaim, "Nec ullus inveniatur Italicus, qui aut expulsus aut non dignitatibus omnibus sit privatus."

In the meantime a new pretender to the crown of Italy arose in the person of Berengarius, Marquis of Ivrea (known later as Berengarius II.). He was the stepson of Hermengarde and, on his mother's side, grandson to Berengarius I., who had worn the Imperial crown as well as the Italian. He now enjoyed the favour of Hermengarde, whose power over the magnates of Northern Italy was considerable. As we have already noted, she had favoured Hugh in the past, but had subsequently abandoned him on his marriage with Marozia. For all these reasons Hugh had come to Northern Italy with the deliberate intention of capturing Berengarius and reducing him to the helpless condition of Louis. Berengarius, however, knowing himself too weak to resist, fled to Germany to the Court of King Otho of Saxony, already a powerful sovereign and destined to become Emperor, and implored his assistance. Hugh, who appears to have foreseen none of the great changes

which were imminent, and which were about to alter the whole aspect of affairs in Italy and all over Europe, ingenuously demanded the surrender of Berengarius, and offered Otho a bribe. His only answer was a disdainful reply, as from one who felt himself insulted by the treacherous proposal.

CHAPTER VIII

OTHO I. AND THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE

(911–973)

The change to which we have referred above originated in Germany. Already from the time when Charlemagne's Empire began to decompose, Germany, of all the fractions into which it resolved itself, was that which showed the greatest vitality. This became still more evident when Germany chose Arnulf as King, and he, by his bravery in repulsing the Normans and the Slavs, added greatly to the strength and unity of the kingdom. This notwithstanding, he was accused of having summoned the Hungarians to his assistance, and of thus calling down afresh this curse upon Europe. Arnulf died in 899, and after his death anarchy seemed imminent. Germany was assailed by the Normans, the Danes, the Moravians, and by the Hungarians, who again devastated her. In 911 the rulers of the five principal duchies elected Conrad I. of Franconia, but his brief reign was occupied in conflict with Henry of Saxony, who succeeded him in 919 when he was elected King as Henry I. This dynasty was destined

to play a great part in the future. The kingdom of Germany was at that time divided into duchies, which sometimes assumed the title of kingdoms, and which constantly threatened to separate from one another. Chief among them were Lorraine, Saxony, Suabia, Franconia, and Bavaria. The kingdom was, in fact, a kind of confederation of duchies, each subdivided into counties and controlled by a mutable and uncertain supreme authority.

The reign of Henry I. (919–936) represents the period during which the supreme royal authority in Germany became solidly constituted. Henry entered into a nine years' truce with the Hungarians, and during this time he reorganised the army, brought order into the State, re-established his authority in Lorraine, and subjugated Alemannia and Bavaria. In 933, when the truce with the Hungarians came to an end, he met them in battle and routed them. The kingdom was thus further strengthened, and his power and prosperity grew apace. Trade with the neighbouring States to the north and the south, especially with the Slavs and Italians, also began to flourish. Before his death, in 936, Henry, disregarding the Teutonic custom of dividing a kingdom between all the sons, had nominated one of his own sons, Otho, as his sole heir. Under the rule of this King, Otho I. (936–973), the Saxon dynasty was destined to attain to its greatest height.

Otho I. was one of those men which great opportunities demand and often produce. He at once, and without hesitation, faced the difficulties which confronted him, and proved himself capable of surmounting them. Three great tasks lay before him, and he eventually accomplished them all. They were the consolidation of the kingdom by the subjugation

of internal enemies; its defence against the numerous foes which threatened it from without; and finally, when success had brought increased power, the reconstitution of the Empire of the West, universally felt to be a necessity. This last task, however, only imposed itself upon him at a later date. For the moment he thought only of the consolidation of the kingdom, where he was confronted by two dangerous competitors: an elder brother, who was, however, a bastard, and a younger brother who, because he was born after their father had assumed the title of King, considered that he had a prior claim to the succession. It was necessary to fight against both of them, for each had partisans and adherents. The struggle lasted till 941, and during its course the elder brother was killed. The younger, Henry, at last submitted and received the Dukedom of Bavaria. Otho was able to distribute the other duchies among his relations and faithful friends. He still, however, had to fight the Hungarians, who continued their raids in France and also in Italy. The Bavarians, under Henry's leadership, made war on them several times between 947 and 950, and defeated them repeatedly. Henry then occupied Aquileja and Friuli, thus preventing them from a fresh descent into Italy. In 955 they were definitely routed by Otho, who also defeated the Slavs and, by establishing new marches, further strengthened his frontiers. In order to consolidate his kingdom still more he made use of religion, of which he promoted the diffusion, and of the clergy, whom he favoured, after the manner of Charlemagne, by founding new Bishoprics and Archbishoprics.

These achievements naturally paved the way to Empire, to which, however, both Hugh of Provence

and Berengarius II., each of whom had in fact assumed the title of King of Italy, aspired. Otho at first favoured Berengarius, who, as we said above, had fled to him for protection. The course of events had thus weakened Hugh, who, disliked by the Italian magnates, intolerant of his violent and despotic methods, resigned himself to recrossing the Alps and retiring to his own dominions, where he died, at Arles, in 947.

There remained his son Lothair, who continued to entertain his father's hopes and ambitions, encouraged therein by his wife, the beautiful Adelaide, daughter of Rudolf II. of Burgundy. But Lothair was totally devoid of energy, and was never more than the shadow of a king. All this might have been most advantageous to Berengarius, had he known how to profit by it. But besides his instability of character, the fact that instead of facing the Hungarians when they were plundering Italy he had bought them off with a large sum of money which he had been obliged to raise by new taxes, earned him much unpopularity. Otho, on the other hand, had attacked and defeated them, and his energy was counted in his favour. The situation was simplified by Lothair's death, which occurred, not without suspicion of poison, on the 22nd of November, 950.

A few weeks later, on the 15th of December, Berengarius succeeded in having himself crowned King of Italy and getting his son Adalbert recognised as sharer of his throne. But it immediately became apparent that the course of affairs was steadily becoming adverse to him. He wished to marry his son to Lothair's widow, Adelaide, whose inherited claim to Imperial rights still possessed some force, but she decidedly refused the alliance. Berengarius, much incensed, thereupon shut

her up in a tower on the Lake of Garda, from which, however, with the help of some of Otho's friends, she managed to escape on the 20th of August, 951, and she appears to have foreseen the greatness which the future held in store for Otho. Everything henceforth seemed indeed to be in his favour. The enemies of Berengarius, together with the widowed Adelaide, openly expressed their wish that Otho should come to Italy. Agapetus II. (946–955), the only Pope among those appointed by Alberic who dared to show him any independence of character, and who aimed at the liberation of the Church from its subjection and at the curbing of Berengarius's ambition, joined his voice to theirs, but did not seem to have foreseen how powerful Otho would become. In response to these solicitations from all sides, Otho crossed the Alps in the summer of 951.

Fifty years had passed since the last German Prince had descended into Italy. In September he entered Pavia without encountering resistance from Berengarius, who had withdrawn into a fortress. Very soon after he married Adelaide. He then assumed, without formality, the title of King of Italy, and, unopposed, began to act as such. His intention was to proceed to Rome and seize the Imperial crown without further ado. Taking no account of Alberic, he charged the Bishops of Mainz and of Chur to inform the Pope of this intention. But Alberic gave him to understand that he would be forcibly opposed, and Otho, who was as prudent as he was bold, realised that the enterprise was not to be undertaken without an adequate army, at that moment lacking to him. He therefore returned to Germany, where other serious matters awaited him.

Berengarius II., seeing that he could no longer

compete with Otho, took this occasion to go to Germany and accept from him, in quality of vassal, the kingdom of Italy. But both one and the other knew that this could be only a fictitious arrangement of short duration. Berengarius, in fact, recrossed the Alps and repaired to Ravenna (which for some time past had been united to the Italian Kingdom, and seemed at moments to have become its capital), and, together with his son Adalbert, began to intrigue against Otho. In order to attract them to his side, Berengarius made wide concessions to the Bishops, Dukes, Marquises, and Counts, and also to the cities which seemed at that moment to be giving signs of new life and to desire a certain degree of autonomy. For a time he was able to delude himself into the belief that fortune was on his side, because Otho, having much to do elsewhere, left him alone. Moreover, Henry of Bavaria, having lost his hold on the Marches of Verona, only retained possession of Friuli and Aquileja. This was of great importance, for Otho had granted the Marches of Verona to him for the purpose of safeguarding one of the principal Alpine passes.

The year 954 saw the end of Alberic's adventurous life while he was still in full possession of his powers—an event which had serious consequences. Notwithstanding the proofs of energy and intelligence which he had given during the twenty-six years of his able rule in Rome, he was neither shrewd nor fortunate in providing for the succession. He had realised that the civil and political authority which he had established in Rome could not endure for long side by side with that of the Pope without conflict ensuing. He therefore proposed to unite the two authorities in the person of his son, without making

sufficient allowances for the latter's youth, dissolute habits, and general incapacity. Alberic made his son take orders, and the very name of Octavianus which he had given him proves that he deluded himself to the extent of believing that he could leave him established in complete possession of both spiritual and temporal authority. His policy had been directed towards making his government of Rome independent of the Western Empire, and obtaining for it instead the support of the Eastern. And before dying he had collected the Roman nobles around him, by the tomb or "Confession" of St. Peter, and had made them swear that, after the death of Agapetus II., they would elect as Pope his son, who in the meanwhile would succeed him in the political government of the city. It is indeed strange that such a practical and clear-headed man should have lost himself in so fantastic a scheme. But this shows all the more the necessity and at the same time the insuperable difficulty of bringing into harmony the Church and State in Rome.

In 954 Octavianus succeeded his father, and, like him, assumed the title of *Princeps et omnium Romanorum Senator*. In the autumn of 955 Agapetus II. died, and he was elected his successor although only sixteen years of age. On his election he took the name of John XII., and he appears to have been the first Pope who, at the moment of consecration, abandoned his baptismal name and took another—a custom which was followed by almost all his successors, and later became the constant rule.

It soon became apparent how entirely Alberic had been deceived with regard to his son, for his incapacity, frivolous ambition, and dissolute life—a scandal even in that corrupt age—were at once manifest.

Having allied himself with the Marquis of Tuscany and the Duke of Spoleto, with their assistance he made an assault on Benevento and Capua, only to be ignominiously repulsed. He was then forced to a hasty retreat, thus giving the first proof of his incapacity. Nor was he more successful in the North. Otho, with the purpose of combating Berengarius's intrigues, had despatched thither his son Liudolf, who, however, after his first successes, died on the 6th of September, 957. Berengarius then, together with the Marquis of Tuscany, who had withdrawn from his alliance with the Pope, attacked and conquered the Duke of Spoleto, who had remained true to the Papal alliance. Thereupon the terrified Pope, as one who in despair throws himself into the wolf's mouth, invited to Rome the very Otho whose coming his father, with great acumen, had energetically opposed, and, in the meantime, abandoned himself to licence such as had before been undreamt of. He openly lived with women of evil fame—one of whom was said to have been his father's concubine—two more who were sisters, and many others besides. With them, and in the company of youths as dissolute as himself, his days were spent in lust and gluttony. The chroniclers affirm that he toasted the devil and invoked pagan deities. There were rumours that a deacon had been ordained by him in a stable, and a Bishop consecrated at the age of ten ; of dignitaries who had been blinded or emasculated solely to satisfy the mad bestiality of the Pope. No honest woman dared to set foot in the Lateran, where, according to P. Duchesne, "la cruauté complétait l'orgie." This was a state of affairs which evidently could not continue for long without ruining society itself, and therefore a reaction seemed certain. But all this tended in favour

of Otho, who was now, as it were, summoned to put an end to such horrors as much by those who were disgusted by the scandals at Rome as by those who were weary of the arrogance and violence of Berengarius II.—Bishops whom he had ejected from their sees, Dukes, Counts, and nobles of all degrees whom he had in a thousand ways insulted and damaged.

Finally Otho I., now at the head of a numerous force and accompanied by the nobles of his own kingdom, crossed the Brenner and descended for the second time into Italy. In the valley of the Adige, Berengarius, also commanding a large army, moved to meet him. But this army was composed of men collected haphazard, who had little respect for their leader, and at the decisive moment they refused to fight unless he renounced the kingdom in favour of his son Adalbert. Berengarius, giving up all hope, was disposed to yield, but his wife, Willa, offered energetic opposition to such a step. The army then disbanded itself, and Otho was able to advance without meeting any further obstacle.

Berengarius withdrew to the Castle of St. Leo, near Montefeltro, his wife retired to an island on the Lake of Orta, and his two sons, Adalbert and Conrad, moved from one castle to another. They hoped by these manœuvres to weaken Otho, by compelling him to divide his forces. But Otho, now sure of success, and urged on to Empire by all, took no further notice of their doings. Having re-established order in Lombardy, he richly rewarded his partisans, Bishops, Counts, and Dukes. He gave the county of Modena and Reggio to Atto, who had taken the principal part in contriving Adelaide's escape from prison. He once more aggregated the Marches of Verona to the Dukedom of Bavaria. His youngest brother, Bruno,

Archbishop of Cologne, had already received Lorraine. Leaving in this manner sure friends in his rear, and having come to an agreement with the Pope, he proceeded without further difficulty towards Rome, which he solemnly entered on the 31st of January, 962. On the 2nd of February he received the Imperial crown from the hands of John XII.

On the 13th of the same month the agreement between Emperor and Pope was solemnly ratified by a Privilegium, called that of Otho, which has been handed down to us, not, however, without some alterations in its last clauses, made, apparently, at a later date. It is certain, at all events, that by this document the Empire was officially reconstituted and its transference from the Franks to the Saxons clearly recognised. The Pope received confirmation of all his possessions and temporal rights, and all concessions made by Pippin and Charlemagne were renewed. For his part, John XII. swore to give no help to Berengarius and to remain faithful to the new Emperor, who, in the Privilegium, had also made it clear what were the Imperial rights over Rome itself and over the Papal elections. But it is precisely in this last part that the document has reached us with some alterations, made, as we shall see, during the following year, so that we cannot say that we know with certainty all the terms of the agreement in their original form.

After reconstituting the Empire it was necessary to consolidate it and ensure its continuance. On the 14th of February Otho left Rome for Northern Italy with the intention of attacking Berengarius, who had now been joined by his wife, in the Castle of St. Leo. It was necessary to destroy this still dangerous rival, lest he should call up fresh enemies in Italy. But

no sooner had Otho departed from Rome than the Pope repented of what he had done. He realised that he had of himself put his neck beneath the yoke; that he had sought a protector and had instead found a master. The position in which his father had dreamed of placing him was now destroyed for ever. Nor were the Roman nobles satisfied, for they saw that they had exchanged a hated but weak ruler for a powerful one. They allied themselves, therefore, with the Pope, with Berengarius, and with his son Adalbert, in order to incite other enemies against Otho, who received word of this when in Pavia. Nevertheless he held to his plan of attacking St. Leo, which, from its strong position, demanded a regular siege.

But when the siege had already commenced he received the news that Adalbert was at Rome and, in agreement with the Pope, was seeking aid from all quarters, even from the Hungarians, the Emperor of Constantinople, and the Saracens, who at that time had advanced as far as Fraissinet in Provence. Full of indignation, he abandoned the siege of St. Leo, and, by the 1st of November, 963, had appeared beneath the walls of Rome. The Pope, in complete armour, seemed to be full of warlike ardour, and ready, together with Adalbert, to face the Emperor. But when he saw that within the city a rising in Otho's favour was imminent, he was seized with terror and gave himself to flight. The gates of the city were then thrown open and Otho entered unopposed. And the Romans not only took the oath of fealty, but, according to the historian Luitprand, promised not to elect or consecrate any Pope "praeter consensum et electionem domini imperatoris Ottonis Caesaris filiique ipsius regis Ottonis."

The Emperor, who had already made the clergy

feel his power, and had treated Bishops as his dependents, then convoked a General Assembly in St. Peter's, over which he presided, surrounded by his lay and ecclesiastical Court. The Pope was accused and invited to present himself before this Council to defend his conduct. He paid no attention, however, to the charges nor to the repeated invitations, both of which were sent to him at Tivoli on the 6th of November and again on the 22nd. He even threatened excommunication to those who should presume to judge him whom no man had the right to judge. And the Assembly, before which all the evidence brought against him regarding his scandalous life, his political conduct, and his treachery was given, after waiting for him in vain for a whole month, proceeded to depose him without further ado. And the same day the Romans, with the Emperor's consent, elected a new Pope, who, on the following Sunday, the 6th of December, was consecrated in St. Peter's under the name of Leo VIII. This election, although evidently imposed by the necessities of the moment, was canonically open to the charge of irregularity. The recognised maxim that "Sancta Sedes a nemine judicatur" had been violated. The sentence of deposition could be proved null and void because pronounced by an incompetent tribunal. The newly elected Pope, moreover, had no ecclesiastical rank; and ancient custom required that he should be chosen from among the Cardinals. An attempt was made to remedy these irregularities by nominating him in succession to the various ranks on the day when he was elected Pope, before his consecration took place.

Apparently this was the moment in which the clauses of Otho's Privilegium, treating of the Papal elections, received the form in which it has come

down to us. After confirming the prescriptions already sanctioned in the ninth century, it was stipulated that in future the Romans should not cause any Pope to be consecrated unless he had previously taken the oath in the presence of the Imperial *Missi*. While it would appear from all this that Otho had obtained no fresh advantage for the Empire, Luitprand instead, affirms that, by accepting it, the Romans virtually renounced their right of electing the Pontiff. And, what is of more importance, his affirmation is confirmed by facts. In truth, after 963, during a whole century, the Pope was chosen by the Emperor. And when he was absent and his authority only represented in Rome, the Pope was elected by virtue of this authority, and the election appears to have become a mere ceremony destined to ratify the choice already made. But as a matter of fact for some time past the choice had passed out of the hands of the Roman people. We have seen how the Popes had been chosen by Theophylactus, Marozia, and Alberic. Under Otho the method was, in fact, unchanged, with the sole difference that he was a foreigner and the Emperor. It is true that these facts are not strictly in accord with the text of the Privilegium, but, as P. Duchesne justly observes, this document in its various parts is, to a great extent, purely theoretical, for its wording does not correspond to actualities. It conceded to the Pope, beyond Rome and its territory, a sphere of dominion as vast as that which had been recognised in the past as pertaining to Hadrian I., including Tuscany, Parma, Mantua, Venetia, Istria, the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, and even Naples and Gaeta, which were then dependent on the Byzantines. No one believes that there was much reality in all this, and, in the same way, the

clauses connected with the elections cannot be taken literally. It was theoretical and accepted as such.

But John XII. refused to resign himself to this. He had been elected by the Romans, and therefore considered himself the only true Pope: moreover Leo's election, as we have seen, had not been legal. As soon, then, as the Emperor had despatched part of his troops to renew the siege of St. Leo, John was able to stir up a riot in Rome in his own favour. On the 3rd of January, 964, the bells were rung and the Romans ran in a mob towards the Vatican, where Otho was residing, thinking they would conquer him without difficulty. They were instead repulsed with much bloodshed, and a regular slaughter ensued. They had to submit and deliver up hostages. But the blood then shed remained eternally fresh, and opened a gulf between the Romans and the Emperor which was never closed. Leo VIII., to calm their spirits, advised Otho to liberate the hostages before he departed for Spoleto; and this he did.

But Pope Leo, left unprotected in the city, where excitement still ran high, was obliged to quit Rome by the prompt return thither of John XII. John called an Assembly, and among those who took part in it were many who had previously sat in the Council which deposed him. Those who were known to have taken part in the election of Leo were condemned and severely punished. All this, however, was of little use, for John's hour had struck. On the 14th of May, 964, he died. His death was of a piece with his life, if it be true, as related, that he was murdered in the bed where he lay with a married woman. Some of the chroniclers add that this was the work of the devil.

The Romans elected another Pope, who was con-

secrated on the 22nd of May under the name of Benedict V. The Emperor had been in Camerino since April: St. Leo had surrendered: Berengarius and his wife had been sent to Germany, where they both died. Otho then returned to Rome, taking Pope Leo VIII. with him. He was greatly incensed with the Romans for electing Benedict V. (albeit a man of excellent character) without his consent, while the Pope he had chosen, and for whom Benedict himself had voted, was still alive. On the 23rd of June Benedict was deposed by a new Council, and he, submitting to the decision, requested forgiveness. Thenceforth, as long as he lived, Otho disposed absolutely of the elections of the Popes and also of the Bishops, who received investiture directly from him. This course, compelled by the necessities of the times, had certainly a salutary effect, for it freed the Church from the slough of corruption into which she had fallen, but at the same time it destroyed her independence, and to this she could not resign herself. It was, in fact, the original cause of that fierce struggle over investitures which was destined to convulse the Middle Ages.

Otho left Rome on the 29th of June, 964, taking with him back to Germany Leo VIII., who died in the spring of 965; while, on the 4th of the following July, Benedict V. also died in Hamburg. Thus the new election could take place without difficulty. On the 1st of October, 965, John XIII. was consecrated, but he too found it impossible to remain quiet in Rome. Some of the nobles were opposed to him as a creature of the Emperor, and, with the pretext of upholding the independence of the Church, they allied themselves to the people, who already were beginning to form themselves into a free Commune,

adverse alike to the aristocracy and to foreigners. A rebellion followed, headed by the Prefect of the city, an official who had been recently re-established. He placed himself in command of the rebellious nobles, while the people were captained by their "Decarcones," probably the heads of the divisions of the city. This party then captured the Pope and imprisoned him first in the Castle of St. Angelo and then in a castle of the Campagna.

In the autumn of 966 Otho recrossed the Alps, and, after a brief delay in North Italy, where he had affairs to settle, friends to reward, and enemies to punish, proceeded towards Rome. There the news of his return into Italy had caused a rising of the partisans of John XIII., who now was able to escape from the prison in which Otho's enemies held him. He fled to Capua, to the Longobard Prince Pandulf Ironhead, who, with a sufficient force, escorted him back to Rome on the 12th of November, 966, after eleven months' exile. Within a short time Otho arrived and wreaked bitter vengeance on the rebels. Not a few of them were exiled to Germany, while others were blinded or beheaded. The twelve "Decarcones" were hanged. The most singular punishment was inflicted on the Prefect Peter. He was handed over to the Pope, who, after causing his beard to be shaved, had him suspended by the hair to the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. This statue was then known as "the horse of Constantine," for at that time it did not stand, as now, on the Capitol, but in the Square of the Lateran, where everything, commencing with the basilica erected by him, spoke of Constantine. After having remained thus suspended for some time, the Prefect was placed, facing backwards, on a donkey with the

tail in his hands and conducted through the city to be eventually thrown into prison, where he remained till Otho took him away to Germany and again incarcerated him. The repression of the Romans was so cruel and bitter that even the dead were not spared. The corpse of Count Roffredo, in whose castle the Pope had been held captive, and that of the Vestiarius Stephen, another of the rebellious magnates, were disinterred and thrown outside the walls.

Otho remained six years longer in Italy, occupied with the consolidation of the Empire and hoping to extend it to the South. With this purpose he entered into an alliance with Pandulf Ironhead, and took him as his vassal, giving him the lordship over Spoleto and Camerino in addition to Capua and Benevento, which he had already united under his rule. In this manner Pandulf became a very powerful Prince directly dependent on the Emperor, by whom he was charged to make war on the Byzantines in order to drive them from their possessions in Southern Italy. Otho and the Pope then repaired to Ravenna, where they celebrated the Easter feast of 967 and jointly summoned a Council. By this Council (in theory, at least), Ravenna and its territory, which for some years had been aggregated to the kingdom of Italy, were restored to the Pope. After this Otho obtained from him the Imperial crown also for his son, Otho II., then a child of twelve, and the solemn function was performed in St. Peter's on the 25th of December, 967.

The constant aim of Otho's life was to bring about the definite constitution of the Empire, with succession settled in his family. To this end he desired to establish friendly relations with Constantinople. But this was hardly compatible with his scheme of

possessing himself of the territories of Southern Italy, which still belonged to the Emperor of the East, who had no intention of giving them up, but wished, on the contrary, to extend them. Nevertheless Otho proposed to the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas an alliance between his son and the Princess Theophano, daughter of the deceased Emperor Romanus II. He judged that should such a marriage be concluded, the Empire of the West and his own dynasty would thenceforth be implicitly recognised at Constantinople. The bride might, moreover, bring as her dower the Byzantine territories of Southern Italy. And, further, the two Emperors might, perhaps, unite their forces against their common enemy, the Saracens, who had now advanced into Provence. In such an event Sicily, wrested from the Infidel, might also be considered as part of Italy and be aggregated to the reconstituted Empire of the West.

But all this was to reckon without one's host. Nicephorus Phocas not only was unwilling to abandon his Italian possessions, but was desirous of reconquering those which he had lost. He condemned the war which Otho had made on Berengarius and favoured the latter's son Adalbert, who, although a fugitive, was preparing to defend his rights by force of arms. Nicephorus Phocas was, moreover, incensed at the alliance made by Otho with Pandulf Ironhead and his son Landulf, and still more by the attempt made in 968 to take Bari — an enterprise which, however, was hopeless so long as the Byzantines controlled the sea. Furthermore Nicephorus Phocas looked upon the reconstituted Empire of the West as a usurpation in defiance of all law. In his eyes there was but one Empire, that of Rome, whose seat had been transferred to Constantinople.

Otho, however, did not abandon his idea of an alliance with the East, and persisted in requesting for his son the hand of the Greek Princess. With this purpose he decided to send an ambassador to Constantinople, and chose Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona. Luitprand had frequented many Courts, often changing master: he was familiar with the Latin classics and also with the Greek language—a great advantage in this case. Author of various admirable works on the history of his own times, he has left us an account of his mission ("Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana"), which is a most important historical document. In spite of much rhetoric and many exaggerations, it furnishes a lively description of the ideas and customs of the day. He was not well received at Constantinople, and his mission, much to his annoyance, was a failure, so he revenged himself by painting the Emperor in lurid tints. He attributes to his own speeches a vigour of expression which it is not easy to believe he really dared to make use of in the presence of the Eastern Sovereign. Nicephorus Phocas blamed the dispossession of Berengarius II., the occupation of Rome, the ill-treatment and massacre of so many Roman citizens, and the devastation of so many cities of the Peninsula. Luitprand in vain replied that Otho had liberated Rome from the dominion of dissolute women and violent, despotic nobles, and had improved her condition and that of the Church. According to his own account, he continued as follows: "If those territories were really yours, why did you not defend them and free them from invaders and from the Infidels to whom you abandoned them? My lord, on the other hand, moved from the ends of the earth to defend them. They are Latin territories,

formerly inhabited by Goths and Longobards, and forming part of the Italian Kingdom. Berengarius and Adalbert were vassals of my lord who had rebelled against him and were therefore justly punished by him."

But Luitprand's endeavours to bring about the marriage were useless. Nicephorus Phocas demanded the restitution of Ravenna, Rome, Benevento, and Capua, and would not recognise Otho's right to the title of Emperor. Moreover he was preparing a fleet to assist Adalbert, who was arming for war. The anger of the Eastern Emperor reached its climax at the arrival of a mission from the Pope recommending Otho as "our beloved son" and styling Nicephorus Phocas "Emperor of the Greeks." The Papal envoy was cast into prison and the chief courtiers said to Luitprand: "Your Pope is so ignorant that he does not know that Constantine transferred the capital of the Empire together with the Senate to our city." So, after 120 days (4th of June to 1st of October) of residence in Constantinople, during which time he had been badly lodged, had fallen ill, and had been unsuccessful in his mission, Luitprand returned humiliated to Italy and wrote this account, in which his indignation breaks out. The possibility of friendly relations at this moment seemed indeed so distant that the siege of Bari was continued on the land side by Otho's troops, while from the sea the town was succoured by the Byzantines.

Otho withdrew from the enterprise without having succeeded in taking the well-fortified town. On the 26th of May, 969, he was in Rome again, having entrusted to Pandulf Ironhead the continuation of the campaign against the Byzantines. Pandulf, with Otho's forces and his own, carried on the war faithfully until,

in an unfortunate moment, he was captured, upon which his army disbanded itself. Otho's men, however, aided by those of Spoleto, continued to fight, and, after varying fortune, the Byzantines had the worst of it, and their power in Southern Italy was much weakened.

Meanwhile the news came that Nicephorus Phocas had been killed on the 10th of November, 969. His wife Theophano, who had married him after poisoning her first husband, and who had placed him on the throne, had now murdered him in complicity with the General John Zimisces, who became his successor. Although the Empire was constantly threatened by enemies from the outside, John Zimisces could occupy himself but little with foreign warfare, for, upon his accession, he found internal affairs in the greatest confusion owing to the bloody deeds which had accompanied each change of sovereign. He was obliged to adopt a line of policy differing from that of his predecessor. In the meantime Otho was again advancing in Southern Italy, and in 970 had reached the territory belonging to Pandulf, who was still held captive by the Byzantines. His wife and his son Landulf thereupon united their forces to those of Otho, thus rendering him more formidable. Upon this John Zimisces liberated Pandulf and sent him to Italy to treat with Otho, promising to send the Imperial Princess demanded by him as a bride for his son. He stipulated, however, that Otho should withdraw with his army from Southern Italy and restore such territories as had belonged to the Byzantines, and Otho accepted his terms. In the beginning of the year 972 the Eastern Princess reached Italy, and by the 14th of April she was in Rome, where she was married by the Pope to Otho II., then only seventeen

years of age, and crowned Empress.[1] In the same year, on the 6th of September, 972, Pope John XIII. died, and on the 7th of May, 973, Otho I. followed him to the grave. It was to be foreseen that great changes would now ensue.

Otho I. was a great statesman and a great soldier. Like Charlemagne, he was a promoter of learning, and in this he was efficiently assisted by his youngest brother Bruno, Arch-chancellor and Arch-chaplain of the Empire, and Archbishop of Cologne from 953 onwards. He was one of Otho's principal ministers, but, even when occupied by the gravest matters of State, he consistently devoted part of his time to study, and, like Luitprand, knew Greek. Otho, although himself a man of little culture, had a taste for literature, and kept these and other learned men who came from Italy constantly about him. Many monks came to Germany at that time from England and from Ireland, bringing with them the culture which then flourished in those islands. In this manner there came about a revival of Latin literature, to which the first beginnings of German literature united itself. Such phenomena generally appear when really great monarchs arise, but at the time of which we are writing there were indications also of a social and political awakening in Europe.

After Henry I. had constituted the German Kingdom, Otho, as we have seen, proceeded to put it on a solid basis, and then undertook the reconstitution of the Empire. But his Empire, although theoretically remaining the same, was in substance very different from that of Charlemagne, not only because its centre

[1] According to Giesebrecht, this Princess Theophano was not the daughter of Romanus II., but a niece of John Zimisces.

of gravity had shifted from France to Germany, but also because it had much dwindled in size, being now, strictly speaking, composed solely of the strong and vast German Kingdom and about two-thirds of the Italian Peninsula. To the east its influence was felt indirectly as far as Poland and Hungary. Not only its extent but its character was different. Charlemagne's aim had been to diffuse Frankish law everywhere, and to consider the Dukes, Counts, and Marquises as his officials. The diversity of national characteristics and the Frankish law of dividing the succession among the Sovereign's heirs, had been opposed to this theoretic unity, and thus feudalism, which acquired ever greater strength to the detriment of social unity, went on spreading. It was believed, then, that feudalism alone could hold together the various Dukes, Counts, and Marquises, who were constantly seeking to become independent powers, and bind them to the Sovereign. Otho I. strove, in Germany as well as in Italy, to maintain the Empire united under his supreme authority: to be Caesar and Augustus according to the Roman ideal. But he was forced to reckon with the persistent divergence of diverse races and to realise that these great lords would no longer allow themselves to be reduced to the position of officials nor submit to the *Missi* as in Charlemagne's day. The Empire, therefore, inevitably became a confederation of States, united by the feudal tie, under his supreme authority.

Otho, moreover, was bound to make great Counts of the ecclesiastical feudatories, and this he never failed to do. They could bring the authority which proceeded from the Church to bear in his favour; their power was not hereditary, and it was of the greatest assistance in curbing the arrogance of the

secular nobles who were for ever striving to found new dynasties and to create States within the State. All this compelled him to accentuate always more the religious character of the Empire, and to be the defender of the Church, the protector of the people, the universal Sovereign. Such had been the original theoretic nature of the Empire, with which, however, as we have seen, the reality was always in opposition. Even in this epoch, when its extent was so much reduced, Italy and Germany not only remained two separate countries, very unlike one another, and which it was necessary to govern differently by means of two distinct Imperial Chancelleries, but in each of them the germs of profound discord continued to exist. To hold fast the unity of the Empire Otho was compelled to augment the immunities of the Bishops, who, under his sway, became very powerful ; while, at the same time, he sought to make the benefices and minor feudal holdings hereditary and therefore more independent of the greater lords, who were thus weakened.

By such methods did Otho succeed in keeping Church and State united and in maintaining the integrity of the Empire, of which he promoted the political, intellectual, and commercial prosperity. Notwithstanding, however, his strength and intelligence, he could not prevent the different elements of the Empire from coming into continual collision with one another. And, on the other hand, the necessity for unity and concentration weakened the divided and subdivided feudal society. From this state of things a constantly increasing advantage accrued to the Communes, who were the opponents of the nobles, especially of the greater ones, and also of the Empire whose decay they hastened.

Since the times of Berengarius and Guy, cities had frequently been left to their own resources and forced to defend themselves as best they might, by constructing walls and digging trenches, against the attacks of Saracens or Hungarians. Profiting now under Otho by the greater security and by the prosperity of that trade which was the original cause of their existence, and the principal occupation of their citizens, they began to feel and affirm their independence still more. They were helped not a little to realise this by the example of those cities which, like Venice, Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, were not dependent on the Western, but on the Eastern Empire, which, in order to maintain its authority at all costs, granted them (and especially Venice) a degree of autonomy almost amounting to complete independence. They were spurred on, too, by the example of Rome, whose people so often rose in arms against Pope and Emperor. In fact, the dawn of the new epoch in which the Communes were to play so glorious a part in the history of Italy was already visible.

CHAPTER IX

OTHO II. AND OTHO III.

(973–1002)

When Otho II. ascended the throne he was not yet eighteen. He possessed both intelligence and culture, but he lacked the qualities necessary to complete the work which his father had initiated. The greatest difficulties lay in Central and Southern Italy. In Rome the people rose against Pope Benedict VI., who had been elected by the Imperial party in December, 972, and imprisoned him in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he was strangled. Boniface VII. was elected to replace him. But this time the Imperial party rose with so much violence that Boniface fled to Constantinople, and, after the Abbot of Cluny had refused the tiara offered him by Otho II., a Roman, the Bishop of Sutri, was elected in October, 974, under the name of Benedict VII. He was one of the followers of the Cluny reform, and he caused his rival to be excommunicated by a Council which he convoked. After having done this and made sure of Otho's goodwill, he ascended the Apostolic Chair in peace.

But the new Emperor was then detained in Ger-

many and was not able to cross the Alps till 980, when he was summoned by the Pope (who already was at strife with the Roman people) and by the ever-growing disorders in Southern Italy. When he reached Pavia he entered into an agreement concerning the affairs of Upper Italy with his mother, Adelaide, who, through the great authority she had acquired, acted there almost as a regent. At Ravenna he met the fugitive Pope, who begged his aid, and, in 981, Otho reconducted him to Rome (where he celebrated Easter), and replaced him on the throne after the populace had been pacified.

It was now urgent to provide for Southern Italy, where affairs, for some time past, had been going from bad to worse. Apulia and Calabria were dependents of the Byzantines ; the Saracens had never ceased their raids and plunderings ; Gisulf, Prince of Salerno, had allied himself with the Byzantines, and together they had favoured the Saracens in order to harm the Western Empire. But its cause was supported by Pandulf Ironhead, who, as we have seen, was brave and ruled over a great territory. He advanced to attack Gisulf in Salerno in order to force him into siding with Otho, but he met with an energetic resistance. The people, however, rose against Gisulf and deposed him. Pandulf then took the city and reinstated the Prince on condition that he should thenceforth obey him. Thus Pandulf became always more powerful. In addition to this, the Emperor John Zimisces had died at Constantinople in 976 and the two sons of Romanus II. who succeeded him could give no thought to Italian affairs. The Sicilian Saracens then, led by Abu-l-Kâsem, crossed the Straits of Messina and advanced, devastating indiscriminately. Notwithstanding this, they

were favoured by the Byzantines out of hatred for Otho. There remained only Pandulf, always true to the Empire, to face them, but just at this moment, when Otho was preparing to join him and prosecute the war with him, he died in March, 981, leaving behind him great disorder. The agglomeration of territories over which he held sway fell to pieces, and was, for the moment, irregularly apportioned between his sons Landulf and Pandulf II., neither of whom was his father's equal. In Benevento a revolution drove out Landulf and put a cousin of his, also called Pandulf, in his place. Thus was Benevento again separated from Capua, where Landulf continued to reign. In Salerno too a revolt broke out which upset Pandulf II., and the revolutionaries chose Duke Maurus of Amalfi as their ruler and submitted to the Byzantines. Nor could Otho, in spite of many efforts, prevent these changes, which were of advantage only to the Saracens, who, helped by the Emperor's enemies, were advancing in Calabria under Abu-l-Kâsem. In a first engagement, however, they were defeated and their leader killed; but this success was disastrous to Otho, who, puffed up by his good fortune, became negligent and allowed himself to be surprised in a very difficult position at Stilo,[1] on the 15th of July, 982. Not only were his troops decimated, but he himself barely escaped with his life in a boat belonging to some Greek sailors who failed to identify him. One of them, however, a Slav, recognised him but kept his own counsel, and he was landed in a safe place. In September, 982, the Emperor was at Capua, where there was no longer any ruler, for Landulf had been killed in the

[1] The exact spot where the battle was fought is a subject of discussion. Amari places it at Stilo.

battle against the Saracens. Spoleto and Camerino, which had been also apportioned to Landulf, were in the same condition. Otho thereupon granted Capua to Landonulf, fourth son of Pandulf Ironhead, while Spoleto and Camerino were given to Thrasamund, a member of the same family. At the beginning of the year 983 Otho returned to Rome to prepare for a continuation of the war.

But this was not easy, for the news of the defeat at Stilo had spread far and wide and had destroyed his prestige. Southern Italy was in great disorder, for, although the death of Abu-l-Kâsem and an outbreak of revolution in Sicily had compelled the Saracens to retreat, the Byzantines, on the other hand, having plucked up courage, had advanced and had reoccupied Calabria and Apulia. Nor were affairs in the North, though apparently more peaceful, any better. The great feudatories, it is true, were quiet, and seemed to have remained faithful to the Empire, but, on the other hand, the people were everywhere preparing to rise in the hope of forming themselves into Communes, and were ready to combat both Bishops and Marquises. The Milanese had turned out their Bishop Landulf, who was only enabled to return to his see after a struggle and after accepting a humiliating agreement. Otho, however, seemed not to realise these new dangers. In June, 983, he was in Verona, where, full of hope, he convoked a great Assembly of German and Italian magnates who willingly, and in large numbers, responded to his call. They represented Germany and Italy as, apparently, united into one great State.

Otho II. caused them to elect his son, then only three years of age (afterwards Otho III.), King of Italy and King of Germany. He still retained the

support of his mother Adelaide, who was always powerful in Lombardy and Ravenna, and that of Hugh, Marquis of Tuscany. Thus, full of confidence, he prepared a fresh campaign in the hope of avenging his Calabrian defeat and, possibly, of advancing as far as Sicily. With this intention he moved on Ravenna while troops were being collected for him in all parts of Italy. From Germany he could hope for no assistance, menaced as she was by internal and external dangers.

But for the conduct of this campaign, especially if Sicily were to be reached, it was necessary to be provided with a fleet, which Otho lacked, and could only hope to obtain from Venice, which, already profiting by its fortunate commercial position, had begun to prosper marvellously. Moreover, placed as she was between the Eastern and Western Empires, Venice had been able, through their reciprocal jealousies, to make herself almost independent of them and obtain from both commercial advantages. As a consequence, however, she had been since her birth torn by two rival internal factions, the Eastern and the Western. After Otho's defeat in Calabria, the Eastern party prevailed and drove out its opponents. These fugitives repaired, then, to the Emperor and promised that they would place the Republic entirely at his service, would he but assist them to return thither. And Otho, who was in great need of Venetian vessels, at once undertook to assist them. He soon perceived, however, that to effect an entrance into Venice against her will was far from being an easy matter. Greatly discouraged, he gave up the attempt but continued his journey to Rome, where his presence was required owing to the death of Pope Benedict VII., which had just

taken place. On his arrival there he caused Peter, Bishop of Pavia, who had first been Chancellor and then Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, to be elected under the name of John XIV. (983–984).

At this moment, when Otho's thoughts should have been entirely occupied with the war in the South, he received the news of rebellions and other serious troubles in Germany. It would appear that at this time he was physically exhausted and had not the strength to resist so many and such repeated strokes of ill-fortune. He was attacked by severe illness with high fever. He made his will, confessed himself to the Pope, from whose hands he received the Sacraments, and expired in the Imperial palace on the 7th of December, 983. His remains were placed in an ancient sarcophagus in the so-called "Paradise of St. Peter"—the atrium of the old church. When the basilica was demolished to make place for the new building, the Emperor's ashes were removed to the vaults of the Vatican where the Popes are now interred. In spite of his good qualities and personal courage, Otho II. passed as a meteor, leaving no trace of himself behind.

His son Otho III., then three years old, was crowned King of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle, and immediately a struggle over the regency began, which was finally settled in favour of his mother, Theophano. She was a woman of much intelligence, but, being a Greek, she knew very little either of Germany or Italy. Her absence from Rome made it easy for the popular party to rise, and, incited by Boniface, who immediately returned from Constantinople and occupied the Papal chair, they deposed John XIV. and imprisoned him in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he soon after died from

hunger or poison. Boniface remained on the throne for eleven months, and, as a proof that he had never ceased to consider himself the only veritable Pope, he reckoned the years of his Pontificate from 974, when he had been elected. But although at that date he had been the candidate of the popular party which had first elected him and now reinstated him, yet, owing to his long years of absence, he had become almost a stranger in Rome. The violence of his temper soon rendered him insupportable even to those who had assisted him, for they wished to continue in command and were not disposed to submit to his despotic ways. A revolt broke out against him, and he was deposed and then killed. His body was dragged through the streets and thrown under the hoofs of the Horse of Constantine, that is to say, of Marcus Aurelius.

This revolt had been headed by Crescentius II., the actual *Capo del Popolo*, or leader of the people, who was the son of that John Crescentius who had formerly held the same position. He became the virtual master of Rome, assumed the title of *Patritius Romanorum* and was even called the tyrant of the city. To him the election of the new Pope, John XV. (985–996), was certainly due. The history of this time is, however, so confused that it is impossible to understand how it came about that this Pope should have been chosen from the Imperial party. It is possible that Crescentius hoped by such means to obtain Imperial protection, and thus continue to rule Rome.

In 989 we find the Regent Theophano in Rome using her title of Empress and registering in public documents the years of her reign—a measure unprecedented in the West though frequent at Con-

stantinople, where all could recollect such use of the names of Irene and Theodora. The Pope and Crescentius recognised her authority, and she continued to permit the latter to rule Rome. But in 990 Theophano was compelled to return to Germany, where fresh troubles were threatening, and she died there on the 15th of June, 991. The regency was then entrusted to Adelaide, who, surrounded by the powerful German aristocracy, had to occupy herself with the education of Otho III., then only eleven years of age. But soon news came that the Pope had been forced to fly from Rome to free himself from Crescentius, and that he had taken refuge at the Court of Marquis Hugh of Tuscany, whence he was imploring the Emperor's help. Otho then made preparations to cross the Alps, and the mere report of his speedy arrival in Italy was sufficient to enable the Pope to return to Rome, where the state of affairs had suddenly altered. But John XV. died soon after, in 996, and again the question of the election of a Pope cropped up.

Otho III. was at Pavia when the news of the Pope's death reached him. He at once hastened to Rome, and entered the city without opposition even from Crescentius. The Emperor caused his cousin Bruno to be elected, and on the 3rd of May, 996, he was consecrated as Gregory V. He was the first German Pontiff. Two hundred years had elapsed since the election of Zacharias, a Syrian, and of the forty-seven Popes who had reigned in the interval there had been but two who were not natives of Rome or of the States of the Church. Later on things changed and there were Popes of different nationalities. But the election of a German was then a new fact, and might be considered a great triumph for the Empire. Otho,

at that time barely sixteen, first received investiture as a knight, after the German custom, and then was crowned Emperor with much solemnity in St. Peter's, on the 21st of May. After this his direct rule began and the Regent Adelaide withdrew from the Court. This period saw a Pope of twenty-three and an Emperor of sixteen, neither of whom, however, was to enjoy a long life.

The youthful Emperor was very handsome, very intelligent, and possessed a vivid Oriental imagination, which caused him to be looked upon as a prodigy from his earliest years. His education had been entrusted to many masters, among whom was a Calabrian Greek, Philagathos by name, who had been called to the Court by Theophano. These masters instructed him in Latin and Greek, and inspired him with a veritable cult for the Græco-Roman world, towards which his mother's Greek blood predisposed him. To this was added the influence exercised upon him by celebrated ecclesiastics and not less celebrated hermits. All this lore, united to his imaginative temperament, made of him a very singular personage.

There were signs that a political revival was preparing in Italy, and, as was frequently the case in her history, it was preceded and accompanied by a religious revival which, according to the Italian character, was not at all theological but purely moral and practical, giving a new impulse to social life and to manners and customs. We have already noticed how the corruption of the Church had in the early years of the tenth century brought about the Cluny reform, and, among the many consequences of this widely spread movement, was the appearance, in Italy, of many hermits of singular religious exaltation. These recluses exercised considerable influence upon

the society of the times, and particularly upon the mind of Otho III., who showed a really remarkable admiration for their ascetic lives. One of these notable characters was St. Nilus, a native of Grecian Calabria, where many others like him were fostered by the Basilian order. After spending some years as a wandering preacher, he retired to a cave near Gaeta to live the life of a hermit. Although his ignorance was such that he could barely read, the holiness of his life gave him much power over the people and over Otho, who sincerely venerated him. Of the same spiritual family was St. Romuald of Ravenna, who, after years spent in pleasure, threw himself into religion. He sought to reform the Abbey of Classis, where Otho had placed him, and later retired, like St. Nilus, into a hermitage. His influence was diffused far and wide and his teaching was most efficacious. It was owing to him that, for a time, Ravenna seemed to be the rival of Cluny and became a nursery of enthusiastic recluses who spread all over Italy founding other hermitages. It was truly a religious upheaval, and gave notice of a near and great change. But greater and more general was the action of St. Adalbert of Bohemia, Bishop of Prague, a man of high intelligence and noble character, who voluntarily set himself the humblest tasks and endured the hardest privations. He abode for a season with St. Nilus and with the hermits of the Aventine, and then, after wandering about the world and passing some time at Otho's Court, he could no longer resist the craving to court martyrdom and set forth to convert the heathen. On the 23rd of April, 997, he died, the victim of his zeal, among the Prussi of the Baltic coast. Another holy man who set his mark upon Otho was Gerbert, a native of Southern France, a mathematician and a

philosopher. He received from the Emperor the Abbey of Bobbio, but was compelled by his many enemies to quit it. He was Archbishop, first of Rheims, and then, after 998, of Ravenna, which, as we have noted, had become, through the teaching of St. Romuald, a great centre of religious exaltation and propaganda. Certainly Gerbert with his love for science was a very different man from the ignorant St. Romuald, but still the admiration of sick and poor, princes and people, cultivated and uncultivated, was lavished alike upon the learned scholar and the unlearned saint. The wave of enthusiasm reached such a height that even the Doge of Venice, Orseolo I., followed by other nobles, became a hermit. Nor is it difficult to understand how contradictory the influence of such different men, learned and ignorant, fanatics for Pagan antiquity or for Christianity, must have been on the mind of Otho III., who inherited the German feelings and traditions of his father and the Oriental Byzantine spirit of his mother. The result was, in fact, an unstable, unpractical character which oscillated between religious mysticism and a sort of political mysticism which led him to dream of reviving in Rome the old Empire with his institutions and magistrates, and making afresh of the Eternal City the *Caput Mundi.*

Pope Gregory was also carried away to a certain extent by the new religious current. He was a German and a disciple of Cluny, and he wished to make the religious orders directly dependent upon himself, rather than upon the Bishops. He also favoured the hermits. At this moment, however, all his attention was concentrated upon the struggle with Crescentius, who intended to retain the mastery

in Rome: so much so that the Pope was obliged to fly. He went to Pavia, where he excommunicated him in Council. But to this Crescentius paid little attention, because, holding as he did the Castle of St. Angelo, he felt secure against any danger. In his audacity he even went so far as to appoint a new Pope. His choice fell upon Philagathos, the Calabrian Greek who had been Otho's tutor, and subsequently Abbot of Nonantola and Bishop of Piacenza, and who had lately returned from Constantinople, whither he had been sent to seek an Eastern princess as a bride for Otho. Notwithstanding all the favours he had received from the Emperor and the Pope, he could not resist Crescentius's presumptuous offer, and accepted it without reflecting on the ingratitude he was showing and the dangers which lay in his path. In May, 997, he became Pope, or rather Antipope, as John XVI. But the Emperor crossed the Alps, and, after celebrating Christmas at Pavia, entered Rome, together with Gregory V., during the early days of 998. Crescentius thereupon shut himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo and the Antipope took refuge in a tower in the Campagna. There he was seized by the Imperial troops, who put out his eyes, and cut off his nose, his tongue, and his ears. In this mutilated condition he was dragged before a synod, excommunicated, and divested of his episcopal robes. He was then placed face backwards upon a donkey and led through the streets of the city attended by a crier, who proclaimed his offences and announced the penalties to which he had been condemned. He was then cast into prison, and died there. St. Nilus, then ninety years of age, had interceded for the unfortunate man with much persistence, but in vain. Indignant

at the callousness with which his prayers were met, he left the presence of the Pope and the Emperor with these words: "As you have refused to forgive this man his sins, so shall yours not be forgiven you."

Otho, after having held several courts of justice and ordered the building of some new churches and convents—for which he was always ready to spend lavishly—then turned to besiege the Castle of St. Angelo. It is affirmed that he obtained its surrender on April 29, 998, by the promise (which he afterwards forswore) that the life of Crescentius should be spared. The Castle surrendered but Crescentius lost his head, and his corpse, after being thrown from the walls, was suspended by the feet to a gibbet on Monte Mario, which then was called by some *Mons Malus*, and by others *Mons Gaudii*. The twelve heads of the city divisions were also executed. Thus did the fantastic restorer of Imperial Rome, the devout founder of churches and convents and the pious adorer of hermits, prove that he could, on occasion, also act the part of a cruel German Emperor.

In February, 999, Gregory V. died, and it was suspected that he was the victim of poison. He was much disliked by the Roman party on account of his German nationality and because the cruel death of Crescentius and the treachery of his capture were laid to his charge. Otho hastily selected as the new Pope his former teacher, the Frenchman Gerbert, who, as we have already said, was a learned and talented man. He ascended the Papal throne simply by Imperial command and with little more than the pretence of an election. In April, 999, he was consecrated, and took the name of Sylvester II.

(999–1003). He very soon found himself confronted by the gravest difficulties, for the changes already apparent in Italian social conditions were now taking place with greater rapidity.

But of all this the Emperor, always fantastic and wavering, and led as he was by the contrary tendencies of his character, appears to have been quite unconscious. He continued to make pilgrimages to various sanctuaries, especially to those of the hermits he most revered. He went to Monte Cassino, climbed the Gargano Mountain on foot, went to Benevento to seek there for the relics of St. Bartholomew, and into Poland to find the exact spot where St. Adalbert's remains were interred. He also visited St. Nilus in his cave near Gaeta, and reverently knelt in prayer beside him. When the Emperor asked what service he could render him, the Saint replied, "Think of the salvation of your own soul, for I require naught else of you." It would seem as though the Emperor were, at times, tormented by remorse for his own conduct during recent events. It is certain, at all events, that he was filled with religious zeal, for in his diplomas he called himself "the servant of the Apostles," or "the servant of Jesus Christ."[1] But his spirit never ceased to be contradictory. After having visited so many hermitages, in October, 999, he returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, and a few months later we find him entering the tomb of Charlemagne, whose memory excited him just as much and whose Empire he wished to restore while giving it a Græco-Roman form. In spite of his ardent zeal for religion, Otho was far from wishing to be a passive

[1] "Otto servus Apostolorum ac Deo favente Romanorum Imperator Augustus." "Otto tercius Servus Jesu Christi et Romanorum Imperator Augustus." M. G. H. Ottonis III. Diplomata, No. 226 and No. 344.

instrument in the hands of the Pope, with whom he was frequently in conflict. He wished, in fact, that the State should be supreme, while the Pope desired supremacy for the Church. Sylvester II., who, by his teaching, had done so much to inspire in Otho a profound admiration for the Græco-Roman Empire, now found his pupil in opposition to him by force of his own teaching. Otho's wish was to re-establish the Roman Empire, with all its institutions and offices, and at the same time to reconstitute the Byzantine Court, fusing and amalgamating the two different forms. He revived the office of "Patrician," the holder of which should be his companion and the representative of the Empire, and possess judicial powers. The office of Prefect, which had sunk into abeyance under Charlemagne, which had reappeared in 955 and 965 and had again disappeared, was now revived in a new form with criminal judicial powers and as counsel for the Church. Otho reorganised the courts of law, in part dependent on the Pope and in part on the Emperor, and presided over by the Patrician or by the Prefect, together with palatine judges and dataries. He also favoured the use of Roman law. We find in Otho's Court, as in the Court of Constantinople, a Protoscrinarius, a Protovestiarius, a Protospatharius, and a Logothete. Had he lived long enough, says Gregorovius, he would have reconstituted the Senate and brought back to Rome all the officials of the Empire of Constantinople.

These tendencies of Otho's made it increasingly difficult for him to remain in harmony with Sylvester, who aimed at the independence of the Church while at the same time he blamed those Popes who, after squandering the Church's property, had invented the donation of Constantine in order to take possession

of that which by right belonged to the Empire. Nevertheless Otho presented Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona, Fossombrone, Jesi, Osimo, Cagli, which were Imperial territories,[1] to the Pope. This was not, however, sufficient to satisfy a man of Sylvester's strong will, elevated intellect, and independent and practical spirit, who was, moreover, extremely jealous of the dignity of his office. To him has been attributed the first conception of a crusade in the East—an idea destined only to be put into effect a century later. In his epistles, in fact, some allusions are to be found to the necessity of liberating the Sepulchre of Christ from the power of the Infidels.

In the year 1000 Otho III. left Lombardy for Rome, called thither by the Pope and by the continued unsettled condition of affairs in Southern Italy. There, as usual, the Longobard Princes of Capua and Salerno, the cities of Naples and Gaeta, were in arms and at war with one another. Rome was greatly agitated, because her eternal enemy, Tivoli, had rebelled. The Emperor called together a mixed army of Germans and Italians to put down the rebellion, and effected his object without having recourse to battle. And the Emperor having, as was only natural under the circumstances, pardoned the rebels, the Romans rose in insurrection, considering themselves deprived of the advantages of victory, upon which they had already counted. Thereupon they shut the gates of the city to prevent the return of the Imperial troops, and thus Otho, who was residing in his palace

[1] "Et nostra liberalitate S. Petro donamus que nostra sunt—octo igitur comitatus." M. G. H. Ottonis III. Diplomata, No. 389; Constitutiones, I. No. 26. See also Ficker, Forschungen, vol. ii. p. 319. The authenticity of the diploma, doubted by some writers, is, however, admitted by Ficker, Gregorovius, Giesebrecht, and others.

on the Aventine, found himself isolated, and, as it were, besieged (February, 1001). It seemed as though he would be forced to defend himself with the handful of men which remained to him; but meanwhile Hugh of Tuscany and Henry of Bavaria, who had hurried to his assistance, succeeded in persuading the Romans to give them passage. The Emperor then paternally harangued the populace from his palace in the following words: "What ingratitude do you thus show me! For your sake I have forgotten my own country Germany, and have made her subject to the authority of this Rome which, through me, has again become mistress of the world." This speech made a great effect on the people and brought about their submission to the Imperial authority. Nevertheless, on the 16th of February, Otho III. and his army departed so hastily from Rome that it might almost be called a flight, and he was destined never to return. The Romans were becoming steadily more tenacious of the authority of their Commune, which now governed itself, under the leadership of Gregory of Tusculum, Alberic's nephew. Not much faith could therefore be placed in their apparent submission.

Otho and the Pope then proceeded to Ravenna, where the Emperor chose to reside within the cloister of the church of Classis and where he kept the Easter feast on the 13th of April. At that time Odilon, fifth Abbot of Cluny, and St. Romuald were also residing there, and the latter, who had induced the Doge, Orseolo I., to embrace a hermit's life, hoped to persuade Otho to do likewise. But in this he was mistaken, for Otho, albeit fantastic and mystical, had no inclination to renounce the world. He was then eagerly awaiting the arrival of the Oriental Princess who had been

promised to him in marriage. Nor had he abandoned the plan of beginning a new campaign in Southern Italy. But for this enterprise he needed a fleet, and, as we have already noted, only Venice could supply one. With the purpose of obtaining it Otho entered into personal negotiations with Orseolo II., son of Orseolo I., a man of much political ability who had greatly contributed to consolidate Venetian liberty, to promote her commercial prosperity, and to subjugate Dalmatia. These negotiations had to be conducted, on the Doge's side, with much secrecy, for the Venetians, always jealous of their independence, were in constant fear lest the preponderance of the Empire should damage them. Otho secretly visited Venice and received promises, which were, however, never fulfilled. He then returned to Ravenna, and from there he moved towards Rome, not, however, entering the city, but stopping at Paterno, a castle near Soracte. Thence he marched southwards and laid siege to Benevento, which he occupied.

After having accomplished this much he turned his steps northward again, wandering vaguely from one city to another and visiting hermitages. At Ravenna St. Romuald again endeavoured to induce him to enter religion, but seeing that he was bent upon returning to the South, said to him, "If you tread again the road to Rome you will never more see Ravenna." And his prophecy proved true. Otho III., as though driven by fate, grieved by the news which came to him that Germany was preparing to rise against him and by the lack of the troops he needed to carry on the war in the South, again approached Rome, without, however, daring to enter her walls. For the second time he stopped at Paterno, and there he was seized by fever. After

receiving the last Communion from the Pope's hands he expired in the arms of his friends on the 23rd of January, 1002.

At that moment the Greek Princess he so ardently desired was sailing towards Italy, which she reached when her young bridegroom, who was not yet twenty-two years of age, was already a corpse. He who during his whole lifetime had desired to be a Græco-Roman Emperor and to proclaim Rome once more the capital of the world had, before dying, expressed the wish that his remains should be buried in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle beside the tomb of Charlemagne. His few faithful followers were compelled, sword in hand, to transport his body through Italy and to defend it from outrage. Only after eight days of grievous travel, when they reached Verona, where they were joined by other adherents who had come there by different roads, did they feel safe. On the 5th of April, 1002, the Emperor Otho III. was buried by the side of Charlemagne.

BOOK II

FROM HENRY II. TO THE DEATHS OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA AND WILLIAM II. OF SICILY

(1002–1190)

CHAPTER I

HENRY II. AND THE NORMANS

(1002–1024)

UNDER the three Othos a renascence of political, literary, and social life had been initiated both in Italy and in Germany. But after the death of Otho III. disorder reigned afresh. On the 21st of December, 1001, Hugh, Marquis of Tuscany, died, and on the 12th of March, 1003, Pope Sylvester followed him to the grave. These events were likely to cause much change. In Rome, previously to the Emperor's death, those nobles who had been always more or less masters both in the city and the Campagna and had constantly sought to direct the Papal elections (ever an occasion for disturbances) had regained much of their power.

Among the most important of these families were the Counts of Tusculum and the Crescentii. The former had been dominant during the reign of Otho III. At his death the latter, in the person of John Crescentius, son of that Crescentius who had been captured and beheaded by Otho, obtained the upper hand. The execution of Crescentius had embittered the feeling against the Germans which, with a revival of the national spirit, had been for some time

steadily growing in Italy and was still on the increase. John Crescentius was, during ten years, master of the municipality of Rome. The form of government assumed by this Commune, which was among the first to achieve autonomy, is very obscure, and so also are the lives of the two Popes who followed Sylvester. The first, John XVII., only reigned for six months; the second, John XVIII., about six years (1003–1009).

In Northern Italy matters had advanced very differently. The magnates, taking advantage of the disorders which in Germany accompanied the election of the new King (who might subsequently aspire to the Imperial throne), proclaimed Arduin, Marquis of Ivrea, King of Italy; and on the 15th of February, 1002, the Iron crown was placed on his head at Pavia. He soon made it clear that his line of policy would be very different to that of the Othos. They had made many concessions to the Bishops, who had now become real Counts. In this manner had the Emperors sought to make sure of the great authority and moral force of the Church and at the same time, through feudal ties, to keep the Bishops dependent directly on themselves, thus curbing and weakening the power of the Popes. As we have already noted, they favoured the ecclesiastical aristocracy at the expense of the secular; and did all in their power to make the holdings of the lesser vassals hereditary in order that they might be independent of their overlords. The Bishops, on the other hand, were often obliged to cede part of their lands as beneficia, in return for a small tribute, to laymen who, by abuses and usurpation, sought to appropriate them altogether. In the meanwhile, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, the Dukes and Marquises, who had become all-

powerful, grabbed right and left at other people's lands, especially at those belonging to Bishops, churches, and convents. One of these usurpers was Arduin of Ivrea, a man who, on account of his violence, was hateful to the Bishops and to Pope Sylvester, who sought aid from Germany against him.

After a severe struggle Henry II. of Saxony, Duke of Bavaria, had been elected on the 7th of June, 1002, and on the same day crowned King of Germany at Mayence. He soon proved himself a practical and energetic man, altogether free from the Oriental mysticism of Otho III. His plan was to maintain the unity of Germany, to govern Italy by means of German officials, and to curb and hold in dependence those great nobles whose excessive authority was a menace to the integrity of the Empire. Following the policy of the Othos, he continued to favour the Bishops, in spite of the high degree of power which they had already acquired; he also favoured the principle of succession in the lesser fiefs. And, although in all this he was actuated by purely political motives, still his attitude towards prelates, his scrupulous observance of religious practices, the creation of new sees, the founding of churches and monasteries, the interest he took in the necessary reform of the Church and in all ecclesiastical questions, eventually procured him the title of Saint.

To the invitation of the Bishops and Pope Sylvester (who was still in conflict with Crescentius) Henry was unable to reply by coming at once to Italy, because his presence was needed in Germany, but he sent Otho of Carinthia, who crossed the Alps attended only by 500 knights. Arduin made short work of them at Campo Vitale by Fontanina, near the Brenta, where he attacked them and put them to flight

(1003). Then Arduin, puffed up by this success, became still more arrogant and made himself still more hated in Italy. This caused the great nobles to join with the Pope and the Bishops (in spite of the growing national sentiment) in soliciting Henry to cross the Alps in person. And Henry, who had already assumed the title of King of the Romans and desired to be crowned Emperor, now that Germany was again calm, set out with his army for Italy. On the 9th of April, 1004, he reached Trent, where he learnt that Arduin had a strong force in the "Chiusa delle Alpi" (the narrowest part of the Adige valley), not far from Verona. The Brenta Pass was, however, but slightly defended. Henry thereupon sent his chaplain, Elmiger, thither with a few soldiers, and they were able to occupy the pass without difficulty by putting to flight its few defenders. Henry himself followed with a portion of his army and crossed the Brenta on the 18th of April, 1004, arriving at Verona without further impediment. There he was joined by the troops left on the Adige, which the enemy had not been able to hold in check. On the 14th of May Henry was proclaimed King of Italy in Pavia, and on the 15th the Bishop of Milan, who had accompanied him thither, crowned him with the Iron crown.

Arduin now seemed disposed of. But in opposition to Henry and to the Germans in general there was a national party, composed of the lesser nobles and the burghers of the towns, which was daily gaining strength. A proof of the growing hatred of the Germans was afforded by an occurrence at Pavia. On the evening of the day which saw Henry's coronation with the Iron crown a bloody tumult took place between the populace and some of Henry's soldiers, in

which the latter seemed likely to get the worst of it, for most of their companions were encamped outside the walls. In order to save themselves they had recourse to the desperate expedient of setting fire to the city, part of which was destroyed. After this they were more hated than before, and the feelings of the Italians found free vent when Henry was hurriedly called back to Germany. It was this national spirit in Northern Italy which did much to promote the autonomy of the towns. The same feeling began to spread in Central Italy, where Pisa was becoming prosperous by her sea-trade and various Communes were even beginning to make war on one another. This feeling, however, was of no assistance to the national King, Arduin, for his hopes rested on the great feudatories, whereas they, fearing his violence, were of opinion that a foreign and distant sovereign might be less oppressive than one who was of their own country and constantly at hand.

These contrary tendencies and the disorder prevailing in feudal society fostered the growth of the Communes. They now counted as a new and important factor in the history of Italy, and even before they were ripe their influence began to be felt. The origin of Communes, in spite of much research, remains obscure ; nor will it ever be possible to make it absolutely clear. From their first inception, when the feudal system was paramount and was still the only form of social life apparent on the surface, the Communes were in process of formation, and already existed in fact, before they were legally recognised. Their earliest stages cannot be discerned by us because they had not yet begun to register their Acts, and therefore have left no trace of themselves in official documents. We are

thus compelled to have recourse to hypotheses, and many differing ones have been formed by historians. After those which were coloured by modern political ideas and inspired by the national pride of Germany and Italy, we have others which seek the origin of the Commune in one only of the many and divers types which prevailed in the various parts of Italy. All that we can safely say is that, as feudal society became more disorderly and tended to fall to pieces, and as the action of the Empire, owing to its continual struggles with the Church, became weaker, the cities, left to themselves, were compelled to trust to their own resources and defend themselves with their own arms against Hungarians and Saracens as well as against the attacks and insolence of the great feudatories. All these causes pushed them into assuming that independence towards which they were also spurred by the examples of Venice, Naples, Amalfi, Gaeta, and Rome, where the people, led by the nobles, had, already at a very early date, risen in arms against both Pope and Emperor.

This was the process of development in Northern and Central Italy. In the South matters proceeded on very different lines. There the coming of the Normans, as we shall see later, brought with it a feudal monarchy, to the great hurt of Communal institutions, which became impossible under these new conditions, and died out even where they had commenced to take form. In Rome it was again different in spite of the frequent armed risings of the people. There the presence of the Pope and the powerful action exercised from time to time by the Emperor continued to offer serious obstacles to a free and normal development of the Commune. Added to which was the fact that the desert of the Campagna

which surrounded her walls, and the lack of flourishing towns in the neighbourhood, put out of her reach that industrial and commercial prosperity which was the real force of the Italian Commune. For this reason civic life on the banks of the Tiber was disorderly and stormy, and in the end was strangled by the Popes.

At this moment the national party was in the ascendant in Rome. The city was ruled by John Crescentius, bearing the titles of Senator and Patrician, who lived in his palace, surrounded by magistrates, and administered justice. The memory of his father's tragic fate kept alive his hatred of the Germans, which appears to have been shared by Pope Sergius IV., elected in 1009. But in 1012 they both died. The adherents of Crescentius succeeded, it is true, in getting their own candidate elected, but very soon the opposing party of the Counts of Tusculum obtained the upper hand and elected Theophylactus, a member of that family. He drove his rival from the throne and took up his residence in the Lateran, and, about half-way through the year 1012, was consecrated under the name of Benedict VIII. Thus did Rome find herself completely at the mercy of the Tusculan party, which was favourable to Henry II. The Pope ruled surrounded by friends and relations who held in their grasp the government of the city. His brother Romanus, at the head of the nobility, which he assembled and directed at his pleasure, commanded the armed bands of the city and administered justice. Pope Benedict, in order to make his own position still more secure, invited Henry to come to Rome to receive the Imperial crown. And Henry, with a retinue of Bishops, prelates, and nobles, put his army in motion.

In January, 1014, he was at Ravenna, where, after deposing the prelate who had usurped the see, he caused his brother to be consecrated Archbishop. Then, with his wife, Kunigunda, he proceeded to Rome, where, on the 14th of February, they were both crowned in St. Peter's.

Thereupon, as was so frequently the case in Rome after an Imperial coronation, a violent insurrection of the populace against the German soldiery took place. Henry succeeded in quelling it by force and took the ringleaders away to Germany in chains, together with the booty collected during the repression. By means of representatives he continued to govern Italy, which he held to be an integral part of the Empire. It seems evident that the insurrection in Rome had been planned in agreement with Arduin, who, although he still presumed to make use of the title of King, had, since 1013, been reduced to holding but a few towns. After these events, despairing of his cause, he retired to Piedmont, to the Benedictine Monastery of Fruttuaria, where he ended his days on the 14th of December, 1015.

In the meantime the Sicilian Saracens, torn by civil dissension, had divided into several separate States, and were on the verge of anarchy. They were, therefore, no longer a danger to the Continent, where their depredations were reduced to an occasional raid. The African and Spanish Saracens, however, still threatened, and the Pisans, who, as Amari affirms, were free on sea before being free on land, had waged a constant war with them since 970. The Spanish Saracens now recommenced their incursions on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, greatly damaging the country near Ostia and Civitavecchia, and advanced on Pisa, where they succeeded in burning down

part of the city before they were repulsed. The Pope exhorted the various peoples to unite for common defence, and promoted an alliance between Genoa and Pisa, both of them strong sea-powers. In this manner a vigorous fleet was assembled and the Infidels defeated. Under the leadership of Mogêhid-ibn-Abd-Allah, whom the Italians called Musetto, they then succeeded in occupying Sardinia. But they were driven out by the Pisan-Genoese fleet, and were repeatedly beaten on sea during 1015 and 1016. To these losses must be added those which they suffered from a heavy storm. The Pisans retained possession of Sardinia, and later on this became the cause of their incessant wars and conflicts with the Genoese.

Meanwhile the Byzantines in Southern Italy had profited by the powerlessness to which the Sicilian Saracens were reduced, and reoccupied Calabria, Apulia, and the "Capitanata"—named thus after the "Catapano" who ruled the province. After the death of Otho III. the Saracens had, by a great effort, succeeded in surrounding Bari, thinking to retake it from the Byzantines, whom they judged too weak to defend it. But the Byzantines sought help from Peter Orseolo, Doge of Venice, who came with a fleet and provisioned the town, which, thus reinforced, plucked up spirit to repulse the Saracens and to compel them to retire. After this, not only were the Byzantines firmly established in the provinces they had conquered, but the Longobard Principalities of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta all submitted more or less to the rule of Constantinople, which now seemed secure. The German Emperor, in fact, was far away, and the Saracens not only were weakened by civil discord in Sicily, but had to struggle against the

growing power of the Venetian and Genoese Republics, and more especially against the Pisans, who attacked them wherever they came across them—even in Africa and in Spain.

But on the other hand, since the departure of the Emperor a strong feeling of reaction against the oppressive Byzantine rule had grown up in Southern Italy. Leo of Ostia says: "The Apulians rebelled because they could no longer bear the pride and insolence of the Greeks." The instigator of the rebellion was a certain Melo of Bari, a man of Longobard extraction, and he was assisted by his brother-in-law, Dactus. The first movement took place in 1909 in Bari. It spread thence among the people of the Principalities, who, though still called Longobards, had virtually, for a long time past, become Italians. It was naturally welcome also to some of the bands of marauding Saracens still in those parts. Melo's first victory placed Bari in the hands of the rebels. But after the death of the ruling Greek Catapano, a successor, named Basil Argyros, arrived on the scene with a stronger force and laid siege to Bari. Under the command of Melo and Dactus the city resisted for two months, but at last the Greek party within the walls succeeded in opening the gates to the besiegers. Melo, together with his brother-in-law and some of his followers, was forced to fly. He wandered to Salerno, Capua, and Benevento, seeking to gain adherents to his cause. He also sought to ingratiate himself with Henry II., while Dactus did likewise with Pope Benedict VIII., whose animosity against the Byzantines was equally strong. In 1016 Melo was on Mount Gargano, and it would seem that he met with some Norman pilgrims there. This meeting, which has become legendary, was

destined to have serious consequences both for Melo and for Southern Italy in general.

These pilgrims, said to be about forty in number, were returning from the holy places of Jerusalem. On the way back they had stopped at Salerno, which was at that moment besieged by a band of Saracens, whose intention was to punish the ruling Prince Guaimar for refusing to pay them the promised tribute-money. The Normans, full of religious zeal, took an active part in the defence of the city, and fought with so much valour that the repulse of the Saracens was, in great part, due to their efforts. Their courage was so much admired by the Prince of Salerno that he sent messengers back to Normandy with them whose mission was to induce a sufficient number of Normans to enter his service. If the legend is to be believed, it was these same Normans whom Melo met on Gargano. He also requested them to send men to help him in his revolt against the Byzantines. As we shall see, both these requests were complied with.

The appearance of the Normans in Southern Italy at this period marks the commencement of another phase in the country's history. They were a Scandinavian people of German origin, and very adventurous. Loving a piratical life full of audacious enterprise, they made, under the name of Vikings, continual raids into Holland, Germany, and, more especially, France. There they occupied Rouen, and, after a successful battle, established themselves in that province, giving it the name of Normandy. Those who settled there became Christians, and adopted the language, customs, traditions, and even the legends of the country they had made their own. As they grew in numbers they were forced to leave

their country, undertaking the most hazardous military expeditions, in which, as is often the case, men who enrolled themselves were flying from justice after some crime committed in a private or civil quarrel. Certainly there were many of this kind in the bands who went to Italy in 1017 in response to the solicitations of Guaimar and Melo. The leader himself (his name is unknown), who came with four brothers, was in this way eluding the punishment he feared from Count Richard for killing a man whom he suspected of being his daughter's lover. We are also ignorant of the number of Normans who took part in this enterprise. Some went to Salerno, while others joined Melo at Capua, and, it would seem, entered into an agreement with him which guaranteed to them the possession of a portion of any territory which they should conquer. Reinforced by Melo's followers, they prepared themselves for the campaign. The first engagements with the Byzantines proved favourable to Melo, who thus regained mastery over almost the whole of Apulia. But then the Byzantines again changed the Catapan and sent Basil Boyoannis, a man of much political and military ability, who, after several months of struggle, finally came to a decisive engagement at Canne, on the right bank of the Ofanto, in the month of October, 1018, and routed Melo and his men completely, with the result that Apulia was again restored to the Byzantines.

The Catapan then reorganised the provinces under his rule. Melo, meantime, went to Germany to seek aid from Henry II. The Normans remained in Italy, and took service under the Princes of Salerno and of Benevento and other feudal lords. Pandulf III. of Capua openly took the Byzantine side. Under the Catapan's wise and shrewd rule, the Byzantine

authority was established not only in Calabria and Apulia, but, in a northerly direction, almost into Abruzzi. Naples, Capua, and Salerno also recognised the supremacy of Constantinople. But the Pope, who feared and was averse to the Byzantines, went to Germany in January, 1020, and, together with Melo, urged Henry II. to cross the Alps. Melo, however, did not himself see the result of these negotiations, for he died on the 23rd of April. The Pope still insisted, and Henry again made preparations for a descent into Italy.

In December, 1021, he had already reached Ravenna with an army which he thence despatched southwards in three divisions by three different routes. Although the division under his own command met with strong resistance at Troia, he was able, notwithstanding, to obtain a solid success. He deposed the Prince of Capua, who was on the Byzantine side, and put one of his own partisans in his place. In the same manner, and for the same reason, the Abbot of Monte Cassino was changed. Order was re-established to a certain extent in the two other Principalities, where usurped lands were restored to their rightful owners. But all this was, unfortunately, not destined to produce enduring results, for scarcely had the Emperor returned to Germany (where he died on the 13th of July, 1024), than confusion reigned as before. Benedict VIII. had predeceased him by one month.

CHAPTER II

CONRAD OF FRANCONIA AND ARCHBISHOP ARIBERT

(1024–1039)

Pope Benedict was succeeded by his brother Romanus, who, until then a layman, was consecrated, without further ado, during the summer of 1024, and took the name of John XIX. Romuald of Salerno says of him: "Uno eodemque die et laicus fuit et pontifex." The Emperor Henry II., the last of the House of Saxony, was succeeded by Conrad II., elected King of Germany in September of the same year, and the first of the Franconian line. The new Pope, a less intelligent man than his brother, was more occupied with the aggrandisement of his own family than with the affairs of the Church. The new Emperor was valiant and energetic: he quelled internal rebellion, made war on Poland, forcing her to come to terms, and added Burgundy to the Empire. In Italy, however, he was confronted by many and various difficulties. In the South it was necessary to subjugate the Longobard Princes and to combat the Byzantines and the Saracens. In Northern and Central Italy he was, as it were,

POPE JOHN XIX. AND THE BISHOP OF TIVOLI.

(From a contemporary illumination.)

To face p. 134.

between two fires. On the one hand he had to struggle against the Dukes and Marquises, whose power had steadily increased, notwithstanding the adverse policy adopted by the Othos (and carried on by him) of favouring the lesser vassals at the expense of the greater. By special edict he laid a command upon the lesser vassals that, even when not owing direct allegiance to himself, they should, upon receiving notice, serve in the Imperial army. On the other hand, he had to struggle against the power of the Bishops, which had also vastly increased under the Othos. But in the event of his being successful in weakening Dukes, Marquises, and Bishops, other and more dangerous foes were prepared to rise against him. These were the citizens of the towns and free Communes with whom the Pope and the Bishops, at times, allied themselves against the Emperor.

The first and most eminent personage in Italy with whom Conrad found himself in conflict was Aribert, Bishop of Milan, a man of remarkable strength of character, ardent for ecclesiastical reform, and inspired by the sense of the dignity of his high office, the head not only of the Ambrosian Church but also of the city and people of Milan : a warrior and a statesman rather than an ecclesiastic. At first he showed himself opposed to the great feudatories who objected to Conrad's receiving the crown of Italy, and he invited him to cross the Alps without delay. He did this, however, not from any special preference for the German party, but in order, by making use of Conrad, to strengthen his own personal authority in Milan.

Conrad crossed the Alps to assume the crown, but he did not go to Pavia, as was usual. The people of that city, still smarting from the treatment they had received from the Germans, had burnt the Imperial

palace, and were prepared to defend themselves by force of arms rather than open their gates to Conrad. The latter, for the moment, contented himself with laying waste their territory. On the 23rd of March, 1026, he was in Milan, and received the Iron crown from the hands of Aribert, in whose company, together with his own wife Gisela and many ecclesiastical and secular princes and magnates, he then proceeded to Rome to take the Imperial crown. The chroniclers relate that on the 26th of March, 1027, when the procession was about to enter St. Peter's, the Archbishop of Ravenna, considering himself the highest ecclesiastic after the Pope, pressed forward to take the place of honour on Conrad's right hand, whereupon Aribert, highly incensed, and protesting vigorously, retired from the procession. Conrad was forced to intervene, and gave judgment in favour of Aribert, saying that the prelate who had crowned him King of Italy (the first step towards the Imperial dignity) should undoubtedly have precedence when accompanying him into the Pope's presence. Thus was the Archbishop of Ravenna forced to take the left, the right-hand place being occupied by one of Aribert's suffragans, as he himself had withdrawn. This narrative suffices to show the temper of the man. The chronicle adds that afterwards there was a brawl between the followers of the two Archbishops. A second, more violent and more bloody, took place between the Romans and the Germans—a frequent occurrence, as we have already seen, on Imperial coronation days.

The Emperor then proceeded to Southern Italy, to attempt the re-establishment of his authority in those disorderly provinces. On the one side the oppressive and hated Byzantine rule had become more widespread, and on the other the Saracens were still a

menace. The Longobard Princes were continually at war with one another, and sided alternately with the Byzantines and with the Germans. To all this the Normans were now to be added, for their numbers were on the increase, and, although they were scattered as soldiers of fortune over the various provinces, they were still united by blood and community of racial tradition. These intruders were continually changing sides, adhering first to one party and then to the other, but they never lost sight of their own common aim, which was to acquire territory in Italy and take firm root there. A first and serious mistake was made by Conrad in liberating Pandulf III. of Capua, who had been taken prisoner and sent into exile by Henry II. Pandulf, called by some "the Wolf of Abruzzi," was brave, unscrupulous, and ambitious. He at once regained possession of his former dominions by driving out the ruler whom Henry II. had put in his place, and set to work to enlarge his boundaries by occupying neighbouring territories, and, furthermore, he took the Byzantine side. Conrad, though successful in compelling the Longobard Princes to acknowledge his authority, was unable to curb Pandulf's dangerous ambition and was forced to recognise him as Prince of Capua. Also, not foreseeing their future development, Conrad conceded to the Normans the right of establishing themselves definitely in the province. And they, after assisting Duke Sergius of Naples against Pandulf, received from him the town of Aversa with its territory, which was granted to Count Raynulf, the first recognised chief. Raynulf, a man of much military and political ability, obtained reinforcements from Normandy, and, by cleverly changing party, was able to strengthen his and his followers'

position. The county of Aversa became, in fact, the first nucleus of future Norman power. To sum up, the results of Conrad's first expedition to Southern Italy were excessively meagre, and their value was more apparent than real.

His stay in Italy was, however, very brief, for he was obliged to hasten back to Germany, where he was detained for a long period by the necessity of re-establishing order and enforcing his authority. Subsequently he was compelled to undertake several foreign wars. The most formidable of these was that which finally concluded with the annexation of Burgundy to the Empire—an undertaking of the greatest importance, in which he was assisted during the year 1033 by an Italian army which advanced over the Great St. Bernard by the Rhône Valley to Geneva. Among the leaders of this army was Count Humbert "Biancamano," "of the White Hand," the ancestor of the House of Savoy which now rules Italy. According to some writers, Count Humbert played a great part in this campaign, fighting with so much gallantry as to contribute greatly to its success. For these services it is affirmed that he received high offices in Burgundy and the lordship over many lands, thereby laying the foundations of the future grandeur of his House. At all events it is undoubtedly true that this army, collected in Italy, was composed of Lombards and Tuscans; the former under the leadership of Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, and the latter under that of Marquis Boniface, the father of the celebrated Countess Matilda. Since the year 1027, Boniface had, by an Imperial grant, added the Marquisate of Tuscany to the Duchy of Modena, Reggio, Mantua, and Ferrara, which he already possessed, and was thus the most powerful lord, and

master of Central Italy. He was one of those great feudatories who could offer most useful help to the Empire, but who, likewise, only too often menaced its integrity and put it to great danger when they rose against its authority.

An example of this insubordination is offered by Aribert, who, after having greatly assisted Conrad, from whom he received many favours in return, now suddenly rebelled against him. His defection would naturally bring about serious consequences in Italian politics, for he was most influential and had numerous vassals. Upon these, in their turn, depended the vavasours and others of the lesser nobles whom the Emperors had steadily protected and whose independence they had sought to foster. All this class in Italy was now inclined to join forces with the people and to rebel against the greater feudatories, thus assisting the independence of the Communes. This movement began first of all in Milan and finished with a regular insurrection. Aribert, who, at the head of his greater vassals, had declared himself a supporter of the Emperor, was forced, even in his own personal interest, to oppose the rebels. But they, as we have already noted, had formerly enjoyed the Imperial protection. And that placed Aribert in a most difficult position, which eventually forced him into opposition to the Emperor.

About the year 1035 the vavasours with their dependants and friends and the masses of the city rose in revolt, and were defeated by Aribert. The insurgents then marched in arms out of the city and formed themselves into a company which took the name of *La Motta*, joined forces with the lesser nobility of the neighbouring towns, and grew into an army which again confronted Aribert and finally

defeated him (1035–1036). He, as was natural, sought help from Conrad, who did not clearly understand what was happening. The conduct of the lesser nobility in alliance with the people no doubt seemed to him a revolutionary movement of the lower classes against the upper. But he, like his predecessors, had favoured the former with a view to weakening the great feudatories, who constituted a more menacing and imminent danger to himself, intolerant as they were of any superior authority. And certainly Aribert, who, in the pride of his religious and feudal power, assumed the position of an independent sovereign, was one of these. The Emperor, who could now count on Marquis Boniface, crossed the Brenner in 1037 and entered Milan, where Aribert, whose fidelity, however, he already doubted, received him with great honour. His suspicions increased when, shortly after, a brawl broke out between Germans and Milanese. Conrad believed it to have been instigated by the Archbishop, but it was more probably due to the mutual antagonism of the two races. And this antagonism on the part of the Milanese increased, for they construed the arrogant diffidence of Conrad's manner towards their Archbishop into an insult to the whole city. By such influences as these Aribert was gradually drawn towards the popular side, and the situation became always more turbid.

Conrad then moved to Pavia and, calling together an Assembly, invited the great feudatories to appear before it to justify the abuses and violences of which they had been guilty, and by which they had injured their neighbours and everywhere excited discontent and rebellion. Chief among them was Aribert, who, not content with the energetic defence of his own

real or pretended rights, was continually usurping those of others. But he, although summoned, did not appear, whereupon Conrad had him arrested and handed over to the custody of the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Duke of Carinthia. Aribert, however, with much cunning and with the help of his friends, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his guards and returned to Milan determined to defend himself by force of arms. He counted upon the support of the citizens, who were furious with the Emperor for daring to imprison their Archbishop. Thus the leader of the feudal party and the upholder of the Emperor became, almost unconsciously, the head of the popular party and the Emperor's adversary. Conrad's ire was naturally aroused by these events, and he called upon Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, to come to his assistance at the head of his troops. Having thus collected a numerous army composed of Germans and Italians, he marched on Milan, determined to bring Aribert back to his duty, while the latter, surrounded by his Milanese, was prepared to resist. On the 19th of May, 1037, there was a sortie from the town and a fierce battle was fought beneath the walls, the undecided issue of which caused the Emperor to withdraw soon after to Cremona.

On the 28th of the same month of May, while the siege still continued, Conrad promulgated a law (which is to be found in the fifth book of the Fief-roll) by which the vavasours were guaranteed the succession of their beneficia and the right to be judged by their equals, with appeal to the Emperor. This law was evidently designed to create a breach between Aribert and the vavasours and to strip his rebellion of any national character. But it failed in

its purpose because it appeared too late. Another measure of Conrad's, by which he withdrew from Aribert the administration and mastery of the cathedral of Milan and handed them over to one of the canons, produced instead an immediate and contrary effect. Although the Emperor had previously obtained the consent and acceptance of Rome, the Milanese opposed the measure with violence, and would not permit the cathedral to be taken from their Archbishop, who, for his part, took not the slightest notice of the Pope's deliberations.

At that time the throne of St. Peter was occupied by Benedict IX., another member of the powerful Tusculan family. In partnership with his elder brother Gregory, who was the head of the Commune, he continued to retain in his family the supreme power in Rome, but his election, which had taken place in 1033, immediately after the death of John XIX., had showed to what depths the Church had again fallen. He was then only twelve years old, but, as soon as his age allowed it, he began to give himself up to immorality, following the scandalous example of John XII., who had belonged to the same family, but who had at least reached his eighteenth year when he was elected. Rome now again became the haunt of every obscene vice. Nevertheless Conrad favoured the new Pope, in the hope of making an easy tool of him. But, although his hope was realised, this line of policy was a false one, unworthy of the successor of the Othos, and destined, in the long run, to prove hurtful to himself. In 1037, in fact, a conspiracy was hatched in Rome with the object of murdering the Pope within the very walls of St. Peter's. It failed, but the Pope had to fly to Cremona to seek the protection

of the Emperor, who accompanied him back to the Lateran. All this was advantageous to Aribert, who, safe within the Castle of Milan, appeared as a reformer of the Church and as the representative and defender of the city ; and, supported as he was by the nobles, the citizens, and the Bishops of the neighbouring sees, audaciously defied the Emperor himself. Aribert even took part in a conspiracy planned against Conrad, in favour of Otho of Champagne, who had contended with him for the kingdom of Burgundy, and who was now invited to come to Italy and take the Iron crown. This conspiracy was discovered and came to nothing. Otho of Champagne was killed in battle, and ruin fell upon his adherents. Aribert, however, remained firm and unassailable, for Conrad, whose army had suffered greatly from an epidemic, dared not risk an attack on Milan, and retired to Parma. But he had no sooner entered the town than one of the usual brawls between the Italians and Germans broke out, and the latter at last, as they frequently did, set fire to the city. Thus did the anti-German feeling, which was related to the growth of the Communes, become more general in Northern Italy. At the same time, as was only natural, this feeling fell in with the jealousy and opposing interests of one city to another, and so it came to pass that some of them took part for the Empire, and only too often, in the hope of damaging their rivals, promoted the common evil of foreign influence.

Conrad's next move was towards the South, to attend to the very disorderly condition of things there. After crossing the Apennines he met, at Spello, the Pope, who, wishing to please him and still further ingratiate himself, excommunicated Aribert. The Archbishop of Milan, however, took no notice of the sentence. Conrad, without entering Rome,

where he feared that his presence might cause fresh riots, then advanced into the territory of Benevento. The Byzantines were by this time so much weakened that they could no longer exercise much authority in Southern Italy, and they now rather projected an expedition into Sicily, with the hope of driving the Saracens from the island. The moment, therefore, seemed favourable for the re-establishment of Imperial supremacy in the Southern provinces. But Pandulf of Capua, to whom Conrad had imprudently shown favour, had, through aggression and violence, become very strong and daring, and having obtained the services of a certain number of Normans, believed himself able to seize and lord it over the territories of his neighbours. At Salerno, however, his enemy, Prince Guaimar, had succeeded in gaining the friendship of Raynulf, Count of Aversa, and Conrad, who saw the possibility of profiting by this condition of affairs, called upon Pandulf to explain and justify his conduct. Pandulf refused to obey the summons, and the Emperor entered Capua on the 13th of May, 1038. He restored to churches and convents the lands of which they had been shorn, appointed a new Abbot to Monte Cassino, after deposing the Abbot arbitrarily placed there by Pandulf, and then withdrew the lordship of Capua altogether from Pandulf, giving it to Guaimar of Salerno, and thus reuniting the two Principalities which had been so long separated from one another. Then, being compelled to return to Germany, he committed the charge of keeping order and maintaining the Imperial authority in those provinces to Raynulf, to the Abbot of Monte Cassino, and, more especially, to Guaimar. No one could then have foreseen what the future held in store for the Normans, who, encouraged by in-

creasing good fortune, constantly urged their compatriots to join them in Italy to undertake fresh expeditions, by which their reputation for military valour continued to increase. Pandulf, recognising now the hopelessness of his position, betook himself to Constantinople and remained there in exile. In 1038 Conrad departed for Germany with his army, which was again decimated by a plague. This made it impossible for him to stop in Lombardy and subjugate Milan. All he could do was to call together such of the great feudatories as remained faithful to him and bind them by oath to undertake the siege of that powerful and rebellious city. As we shall see, they kept their promise, and Conrad continued his journey back to Germany, where he died on the 4th of June, 1039.

CHAPTER III

HENRY III., THE NORMANS, AND HILDEBRAND

(1039–1064)

CONRAD II. was succeeded by his son, Henry III. (1039–1056). The new monarch's policy towards the Bishops, and especially the Archbishop of Milan, was of a more conciliatory nature. He also favoured the reform of the Church, rendered necessary now by the condition into which she had fallen. In Rome the scandal grew daily, and in 1044 a conspiracy drove Pope Benedict IX., together with his brother, the Senator and Consul, and other members of the family of Tusculum, out of the city. The Crescentian party again obtained ascendancy and elected John, Bishop of Sabina, who took the name of Sylvester III. But corruption in the Roman Church had reached such a point that, although Benedict's immoralities were of so notorious a nature that it was popularly said of him that he used magic to attract women and that he frequently held intercourse with the devil in a wood, still he was able by means of his wealth, by promises and flatteries, by the favour of his friends and by possessing the Castle of St. Angelo, to reinstate himself. In fact, forty-nine days after his consecration,

in March, 1045, Sylvester III. was driven from the throne, and Benedict IX. again occupied it for a period of one month and twenty-one days. But this period was so full of agitations and tumult that Benedict finally decided to relinquish the Papacy. His manner of carrying out this decision caused a new and unheard-of scandal, for he obtained in exchange, by means of a legal contract dated March 1, 1045 ("per cartulam refutavit," says a chronicler), the payment of an annual revenue.

His successor, who took the name of Gregory VI. (1045–1046), albeit guilty of so dirty a transaction and of such shameless simony, proved a far better man than could have been expected. The world, at all events, was freed from the scandal of beholding such a monster as Benedict upon St. Peter's throne. St. Peter Damian, a man of pure faith and great learning, and who probably was ignorant of the scandalous act of simony, was able to say that the new Pope resembled the dove who returned to the ark bearing the olive-branch. And certainly historians judge him more favourably than might have been supposed possible. It is probable that the favour shown to him is due to the fact that he had the monk Hildebrand by his side as his counsellor. Hildebrand, who later on became celebrated as Gregory VII., and was the real author of the great reform which assured the independence of the Church, began at this time to guide her policy indirectly, and was able to do so continuously, for he succeeded in retaining the position of inspirer and counsellor to all the Popes who preceded him.

It is certain that Gregory VI. at once favoured reform, and continued to do so during the two years of his Pontificate, while at the same time he sought to re-establish order in the city. The comparisons made

between his conduct and that of his scandalous predecessor, who persisted in the same way of life even now that he was no longer Pope, were naturally advantageous to Gregory. But all that could not outbalance the grave irregularity of his election, nor suffice to give him the moral force required to face the many difficulties presented by the new times. Henry III. then decided to come to Italy in 1046, and after holding one Council at Pavia, which pronounced condemnation upon simony, held another at Sutri, by which both Sylvester III. (who subsequently retired to a monastery) and Gregory VI. (later on conveyed to Germany) were deposed. Finally, a third Council, held in Rome upon the 23rd and 24th of December of the same year, deposed Benedict IX. Henry III. then caused the German Sudiger, Bishop of Bamberg, to be elected. He took the name of Clement II., and on Christmas Day he crowned both Henry and his wife Agnes.

This was a notable period in the history of Papal elections. The Romans, it is true, had for some time ceased to take much part in them. At first the Emperors, and later on the Crescentii, followed by the Counts of Tusculum, had absolutely directed them. But all alike had, as a general rule, chosen Roman candidates. The few foreigners who had risen to the Pontificate were, in almost all cases, unpopular. But Henry III. instead nominated four German Popes in succession: Clement II., Damasus II., Leo IX., and Victor II. They all shared the advantage of being outside the party strife which tore the city, and all alike were dominated by Hildebrand, whose whole soul was bent on Church reform. And it soon became evident that the principal element of reform, as he conceived it, was the complete freedom

of the Church and of the Papal elections from any Imperial interference. Clement II., who had accompanied Henry III. to Germany and also to Southern Italy, died soon after his return, near Pesaro, on the 9th of October, 1047, and Benedict IX., assisted by Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, now a declared enemy of the Emperor, again succeeded in possessing himself of the Papal throne, but was quickly compelled to relinquish it.

At this time two new powers were gaining ground in Italy, the one in the North and the other in the South. The first of these powers was a descendant of that Atto, or Azzo, the holder of the Castle of Canossa in the vicinity of the Æmilian town of Reggio where Queen Adelaide — subsequently married to Otho I.—had found refuge and protection when flying from Berengarius II. Atto and his son Tedaldo remained faithful to the House of Saxony and naturally received many benefits from that dynasty, which granted them the lordship over Mantua, Ferrara, Brescia, Reggio, and Modena. The Marquis Boniface, son of Tedaldo and father of Countess Matilda, received, as we have already stated, the Marquisate of Tuscany from Conrad II. In this manner Boniface had become master of Central Italy, and was almost an independent sovereign, feeling himself strong enough to defy the Emperor. And, in fact, after the death of Clement II., in direct opposition to Henry's will, he accompanied Benedict IX. to Rome, hoping to re-establish him permanently upon the Apostolic throne. But his audacious and ill-advised attempt could not prove successful. He was himself forced, ere long, to favour the cause of the Bishop of Brixen, the Imperial nominee, who became Pope on the 17th of July, 1048, with the name of Damasus II. This Pope

died on the 9th of August, 1048, after a reign of only twenty-three days, and Henry then caused the Bishop of Toul, known as Leo IX., to be elected as his successor.

During his Pontificate it became evident that the great Church reform, so much needed and so long desired, was about to be realised. In February, 1049, he entered Rome barefoot in company with Hildebrand, now the recognised soul and guide of all the Popes. And Hildebrand persuaded him to have himself re-elected by the Romans. This was a mere formality which might have seemed puerile, but it was, instead, of great importance, for it demonstrated very clearly the line of policy which Hildebrand intended the Church to pursue. Leo XI., continuing under his influence, travelled all over Europe, calling together councils which condemned simony and the marriage, or, as it was then called, the concubinage of priests.

The second power was that of the Normans, whose influence in Southern Italy was steadily growing. They were divided into two distinct groups—those of Aversa, dependent on Guaimar V., Prince of Salerno, who were already more stationary and had taken to settled habits, and those who made up the wandering bands of adventurers, still living more or less by brigandage, after the manner of their Viking ancestors. Both these groups were steadily increased by the advent of fresh recruits from Normandy and by the Italians and Longobards who, in far larger numbers than is generally supposed, joined their ranks. Guaimar V., now very powerful, held the Normans in great esteem and kept a considerable number of them in his pay. He was now disposed to favour the Byzantine cause by joining his forces

to those of the valorous General Maniaces in an expedition against the Sicilian Saracens. For this purpose, in 1038, he despatched a company of 300 mixed Normans and Longobards, under the command of Arduin, who might with equal truth have been called Longobard or Italian. Among the Normans was William, nicknamed "Iron Arm" on account of his strength. He was one of the ten sons whom Tancred de Hauteville, or d'Altavilla, had had by his two wives and who, all of them valiant men, came to Italy, where good fortune awaited them. But soon, after some success, the two leaders, Maniaces and Arduin, quarrelled, and the latter returned with his men to the Continent, where, in agreement with Guaimar, he took the Longobard side in the rebellion against the Byzantines. In 1041 he had a first successful engagement which encouraged the rebels and increased their numbers. In all these deeds legend exalts the valour of the Normans and speaks only of them. But, without wishing to minimise their courage, it is necessary to point out that they were then still too few in number to have obtained such success unassisted. Their power was in great part due to their taking part in local rebellions against the Byzantines, who, in order to defend their authority on the Continent, were forced to retire from Sicily, leaving the island still in the hands of the Saracens, weak and divided though these were.

The rebellion spread and Melfi became its principal centre. The Normans began to take possession of the conquered lands, dividing them amongst themselves; and, from this time forth, their preponderance increased and is proved by their choosing themselves a chief in the person of William Iron Arm.

Prince Guaimar now found himself, almost against his will, placed in the position of leader, or at least promoter, of the rebellion against the Byzantines, and he even assumed, at times, the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria. His power grew till the year 1046, and he believed that the struggle which he had sustained against the Byzantines would gain him the favour of Henry III. But in this he was mistaken, for the Emperor could not brook his increasing power. At that moment William Iron Arm died and was succeeded by his brother Dreux.

Henry was then in Italy, occupied with the election of Clement II., by whom, as we have already noted, he was crowned Emperor in Rome in 1046. In January, 1047, he proceeded to Southern Italy, accompanied by the Pope. He took Capua from Guaimar and, in order to weaken him still further, gave it to Pandulf III. This was the chief result which he obtained by his visit to the South. He confirmed Dreux and Raynulf of Aversa in the possession of their lands, thus reinforcing their authority. Meanwhile other Normans were flocking to Italy, and among them was Robert Guiscard, the first of Tancred de Hauteville's sons by his second wife.

Clement II. died on the 9th of October, 1047, and, after the short Pontificate of Damasus, Leo IX., as we have already seen, was elected. This Pope occupied himself chiefly with Church reform, but he was also much concerned with the political questions of Southern Italy, and journeyed through its provinces attempting to bring order. He was averse to the Normans, who were then beginning to be a cause of anxiety on account of their plundering habits and their increasing numbers. The Pope could come to no agreement with Guaimar because this Prince, opposed and

weakened by the Emperor and threatened by Pandulf III., feared that, in the event of the Normans being abandoned and driven out, his enemies, the Byzantines, would again obtain the upper hand. But at this moment both Guaimar and Dreux, the two principal adversaries of the Byzantines, were successively murdered. The Beneventans, worn out and irritated by their lord Pandulf and his son Landulf, neither of whom had been capable of defending their town from Norman incursions, offered the lordship of Benevento to the Pope, who, with the Emperor's consent, accepted it, and so it came about that this territory became a Papal possession and remained so till the year 1860, when it was incorporated into the kingdom of Italy. Leo IX., however, not having sufficient forces at his command to resist the Norman aggressions, proceeded to Germany in order to obtain help from the Emperor. Henry gave him some soldiers of fortune, and with these he returned to Italy in 1053. By the addition of these auxiliaries to his own troops he was able to defend the territory, at the same time hoping to enter into an agreement with the Byzantines. But the Normans, who were ready, advanced under the command of Humphrey, Richard of Aversa, and Robert Guiscard, who, in the meanwhile, had concluded a victorious campaign in Calabria, whence he had returned at the head of a large force of Calabrians. At Civitate on the Fortore,[1] in the Capitanata, on the 18th of June, 1053, the two armies met. The Papal troops were at once defeated; the Italians flying in disorder and the Germans being cut to pieces, while the Pope himself fell into the enemy's hands. But his conquerors, themselves conquered by religious reverence, fell on their knees before him,

[1] Not far from the present station of Ripalta.

begging his forgiveness, and afterwards conducted him to Benevento, where they kept him for six months as a hostage. Finally they came to an agreement with him. The concessions then made by the Pope are not known to us with any certainty, but although it has often been affirmed that the Normans on that occasion received their Southern possessions by investiture, this cannot be accepted as true, for, as we shall see, it happened at a later date. It is certain, however, that they obtained a fresh blessing and that they then allowed the Pope to return to Rome, where he died on the 19th of April, 1054.

The Emperor then nominated the Bishop of Eichstadt, who took the name of Victor II. (1054–1057), and whom he accompanied to Italy, where Tuscany was now causing trouble. Marquis Boniface had been killed on the 6th of May, 1052, and his widow Beatrice had married Godfrey of Lorraine, who, with a view to distracting the Emperor's attention from Italian affairs, had gone to Lorraine to stir up trouble there. Henry then made prisoners of Beatrice and her daughter Matilda and took them to Germany, to be kept there as hostages for his own defence against Godfrey's intrigues. But on the 5th of October, 1056, the Emperor died in Germany, leaving a son aged six, and also called Henry, under the guardianship of his mother Agnes. This event brought about no little change in Italy.

In the interests of the Church the Pope effected a reconciliation between Godfrey and the widowed Empress, who then liberated Beatrice and Matilda and allowed them to return freely to Tuscany together with Godfrey. Victor II. died soon afterwards, and, on the 2nd of August, 1057, Cardinal Frederic, brother to Godfrey and Abbot of Montecassino, was elected

Pope in Rome, assuming the name of Stephen IX. The election was carried out without taking the Imperial authority into consideration, for the Imperial throne was then vacant; and only later, to save appearances and to avoid possible offence, Hildebrand was sent to the Empress to obtain her consent. But he had hardly returned to Italy when Stephen died in Florence on the 29th of March, 1058. Thereupon the Roman nobles, who were accused of having poisoned him and who desired an Italian Pope, but one who should also be subservient to themselves, elected the Bishop of Velletri under the name of Benedict X. This Pope belonged to the family of the Counts of Tusculum—a name full of evil reminiscences—and, although the manner of his election made him independent of the Empire, it placed him at the mercy of a despotic nobility which had already greatly harmed the Church.

For this reason the most important prelates, and with them Hildebrand and St. Peter Damian, declared themselves against him. They assembled in Tuscany with the consent of Godfrey and Beatrice, and with the already expressed approval of the Empress, and, in December, 1058, elected Gherardo, Bishop of Florence, subject to the sanction of the Empress. Benedict X. had been solemnly deposed at Sutri, and the new Pope was escorted by Godfrey and his army to Rome, where they occupied the Leonine city and then set siege to the Lateran. Benedict X. fled to seek refuge in the Campagna with the Count of Galeria. In January, 1059, the new Pope was consecrated in St. Peter's and took the name of Nicholas II.

Independent alike of the German Emperor and of the Roman nobles, this Pope may be rightly called

the creature of Hildebrand. With him the new Papal policy took shape and the realisation of ecclesiastical reform commenced. Such reform, as we have stated more than once, was not only rendered necessary by the sad condition of the Church and deliberately planned by Hildebrand, but was ardently desired by the religious orders. As in the seventh century Church reform had been promoted by the Benedictines, and as it was to be promoted again, much later, in the thirteenth century, by St. Francis and St. Dominic, so was it now insistently invoked by the order whose centre and principal seat was the monastery of Cluny, following the Rule of St. Benedict with some modifications. This order spread rapidly all over Europe, and its monasteries, it is said, reached the number of 2,000. The religious fervour which Cluny diffused far and wide had penetrated Italy already in the tenth century. St. Romuald, during the first years of the eleventh century, founded the Camaldolese order in Ravenna, which thus became a sort of Italian Cluny, and St. Giovanni Gualberto founded the Vallombrosan order in Tuscany. St. Peter Damian of Ravenna was another ardent propagator of this religious movement and also of Church reform. Sprung of a peasant stock, he devoted himself to study and acquired much fame by his learning and eloquence. Fitted rather for contemplation than for action, he withdrew to the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, near Gubbio, and thence, by his writings and with the help of his followers, he fervently advocated reform. Later on, against his will, he was compelled to leave the hermitage and take part in active life.

The world was agitated at that time by a new spirit of religious fervour, the forerunner of great

events. But in order to ensure the stability of Church reform it was necessary to place the Papacy upon a solid footing. The policy of Leo IX. and that of Victor II., whose hope lay respectively in the German Empire and the Byzantine, had so far only resulted in disappointments. Godfrey of Lorraine, Marquis of Tuscany, who now aspired to the Empire, was most powerful and a near neighbour—a circumstance which the Popes had always regarded with suspicion and which might cause trouble with Germany. In the South no help could be expected from the Longobards, ever at war with one another and now much weakened in consequence of the policy of Henry III. The position of the Normans, instead, was improving day by day as their numbers grew. Richard of Aversa was at the head of the Normans of his county, while Robert Guiscard, whose reputation for valour was always on the increase, continued to carry on plundering and conquering raids in Calabria and Apulia. Upon the death of his brother Humphrey he had been elected as his successor in command.

Hildebrand, guessing the future power of the Normans, then conceived the bold plan of changing the Church's line of policy entirely, and of securing them as allies. With this purpose in view he travelled to Southern Italy and entered into an agreement with Richard of Aversa, whom he found to be well disposed and who gave him 300 [1] soldiers for the Pope's service. And the Pope at that moment needed them badly to enable him to force Benedict, who had taken refuge in the Castle

[1] This number of 300 Normans is so frequently repeated, that it would appear to have been used conventionally to denote a sufficient number of armed men.

of Galeria, and who was favoured by the nobles of the Campagna, to submit once and for all. United to the Papal soldiers they attacked Galeria unsuccessfully, but renewed the siege at a later date.

In April, 1059, the great work of reform was initiated. A Council was held in the Lateran at which 113 Bishops were present. After it had condemned Benedict X., it renewed the condemnation of simony and of the concubinage of priests. Then the decree determining the rules for future Papal elections was promulgated. From that time forth the Popes were to be elected by the Cardinals, after which the clergy and the people would give their consent. The choice was to be made within the ranks of the Roman clergy, and only if a suitable person were lacking among them might he be sought for elsewhere. If troubles in Rome happened to make a free election impossible there, the electors, even if few in number, could assemble in some other place and proceed to elect. This decree assumed great importance, for, although it contained the phrase : "Salvi sempre i diritti dell' Impero," it guaranteed the elections against the interference (which it treated as illegal) alike of the nobles and of the Emperor. It was the first decided step towards the future form of election by the Cardinals alone, from whose ranks, in later days, the Pope must be exclusively chosen. The Church was thus advancing towards the position of absolute monarchy which Hildebrand had long desired. He was, however, fully alive to the difficulties which had to be overcome, and therefore sought to make the alliance with the Normans still closer.

Nicholas II., in the year 1059, went to Melfi, where he held a Council during the summer. This Council

was not held solely for deciding questions of Church discipline, but, with its help, the Pope was able to perform an act of much political importance. He was reconciled to Robert Guiscard, whom he blessed again while he freed him from the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced upon him in former years. He conceded to him the investiture of the Duchy of Apulia and Calabria, and the promise of the investiture of Sicily in the event of his succeeding in conquering the island from the Saracens. And the investiture was granted as for a feudal holding from the Church "by the grace of God and of St. Peter." Robert swore the oath of fealty and engaged to pay tribute. Richard of Aversa, whose power was now on the decline, had been the first to receive formal investiture from the Emperor. It is, however, probable that he now received a confirmation of the grant and that he also took the oath of fealty.

By virtue of what authority the Pope assumed the right of granting investiture it is very difficult to say. Possibly he considered that the donations of Pippin and of Charlemagne, and, still more, the pretended donation of Constantine, conferred such authority upon him. He in nowise took into account the fact that the Empire had established its authority in those provinces by force of arms. He pursued, without hesitation, the line of policy laid down for him by Hildebrand, who continued to spur him on, nor did he take into account the conflicts to which such policy must inevitably lead.

At all events, the seed of important changes had now been sown. Before 1062 Richard of Aversa was master of Capua. And although this possession placed him at the head of an important State, he

could not prevent it from being absorbed at a later date into a new State, which Robert Guiscard, whose valour and whose conquests had rendered him by far the stronger, was gradually forming for himself. Robert, who had succeeded his brother Humphrey, was now assisted by his younger brother, Roger, the last of Tancred's sons, who, at the age of twenty-five, had joined him in Italy in 1055. Together, the brothers were rapidly conquering Southern Italy, and, crossing the Straits of Messina, were pushing on towards the conquest of Sicily. For the moment at least the Normans remained bound to the Pope, who had recognised their usurpations and sanctioned their conquests ; and, for a time, they were faithful to him and kept their promises. After the first contingent of 300 men they gave him a second of equal strength, which enabled him to subjugate the nobles of the Campagna who upheld Benedict X., to lay siege, in 1059, to the Castle of Galeria, and finally to reduce it. Thereupon Benedict resigned the Pontifical robes and withdrew to the monastery of St. Agnes, near Rome. The city was still a prey to party strife, for many who were averse to reform wished for a Pope who should be the nominee either of the Emperor or of the nobles, and thus dependent upon them. And it was for that very reason that Hildebrand, not satisfied by the goodwill of Godfrey, Marquis of Tuscany, had wished to secure for the Church the Norman alliance. By such means she was protected both to the North and to the South and could pursue with safety the line she had adopted. In fact, when Nicholas II. died in Florence on the 27th of July, 1061, it proved possible, notwithstanding the anger of adverse parties, to elect Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, another ardent disciple of Church reform. Anselm

took the name of Alexander II. and reigned from 1061 to 1073.

The Roman nobles, however, persuaded the actual rulers of Germany (where for a short time the Empress was deprived of her powers) to elect the Veronese Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, who might have been dangerous had he been a different man. But Hildebrand then brought about, on the 28th of October, 1062, the election of Alexander II. in Augsburg, and, a few months later, the Pope entered Rome, accompanied by Godfrey and the Normans. And although riots and tumults were incited by his partisans and continued for some time, Cadalous was finally deposed by the Council of Mantua on the 31st of May, 1064, and Alexander definitely triumphed.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS RIOTS IN FLORENCE AND THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION IN MILAN

(1063–1075)

The religious movement which had for some time agitated Italy was spreading and gaining force, more especially in Florence and Milan, where, in combination with political passions, it was to cause many and important changes. The people of Florence had risen against their Bishop Mezzabarba, who was said to have been elected simoniacally by favour of the Emperor. The struggle lasted for five years (1063–1068). St. Giovanni Gualberto, at the head of his Vallombrosan monks, went about in public places preaching rebellion against the Bishop and against the authority of Duke Godfrey, who yet appears to have protected him. In vain was St. Peter Damian sent from Rome to calm the excitement. He did his best, but his gentleness was of no avail. It was known to all that both Hildebrand and the Pope were strongly averse to simony, and such knowledge increased the violence of the agitation. The excitement of the people grew to such a point that they were prepared to resist everything and everybody, proving thus that

they had assumed a new personality and a new conscience in politico-religious questions. In his letters and in his speeches, which, for the moment, received but scant attention, St. Peter Damian addressed them as "Cives florentinii," and in other writings of the time we find mention of the "Municipale præsidium," although legally the municipality was not yet in existence, the Duke being still the nominal master.

This agitation, however, came to an end in a singular manner. A monk, known later as St. Peter Igneus, offered in his own person to prove the accusation of simony against the Bishop by having recourse to the judgment of God and passing through fire. The offer was accepted amidst general enthusiasm. On the 13th of February, 1068, in front of the abbey church of Settimo, near Florence, in the presence of a vast multitude, the champion walked unscathed through the pyre which had been prepared. He was canonised, Bishop Mezzabarba was forced to resign, and the popular party of reform obtained a complete triumph.

At Milan matters proceeded differently. The religious movement had been preceded by one which was purely political, and later on they became united. We have already related how Conrad III., shortly before his death, on his way to Germany, had assembled the Lombard magnates and obtained from them the promise that they would besiege Milan and subjugate the rebellious city and her arrogant Archbishop Aribert. The promise was kept; but the Archbishop remained true to himself. Taking advantage of the favour he had gained with the citizens, of the hatred for the Germans by which for some time past they had been animated, of the adhesion of a part of the aristocracy, especially the lesser nobles, to the

Communal cause and of the general spirit of popular independence, which appeared to have spread from Milan to the neighbouring towns, he called the whole population, rich and poor, nobles and plebeians, citizens and peasants, to arms. And to give greater force and unity to this large army, he initiated the "Carroccio" —an institution which, later on, was imitated by other Italian Communes. It was a four-wheeled cart drawn by oxen; from its centre rose a flagstaff upon which was fastened, about half-way up, a crucifix whose outstretched arms should encourage the troops to battle and incite them to victory. At the summit of the flagstaff was a globe from which two standards issued. Upon the same car, or upon another which closely followed it, was a bell, which sounded for battle. Sometimes this same bell was used in the towns to announce to the people that war had been declared. Around the "Carroccio," which formed the centre of the army, the bravest among the troops were placed as a guard, and their mission was to defend it to the last, for its loss meant defeat. Thus disciplined and commanded by Aribert, the Milanese successfully repulsed the repeated attacks of the Imperial nobles.

Aribert's position was nevertheless most difficult. Formerly a friend of the Empire and of the great feudal lords, he now found himself in opposition to both and at the head of the whole body of the Milanese citizens, and more especially of the populace. The latter very soon rose against the nobility, and Aribert then found himself in the position of leader of a people at war with the class to which he belonged, and whose interests he was bound to uphold. Of a sudden he felt himself out of touch with his times: he could no longer dominate the situation, and felt himself com-

pelled to withdraw from the scene of action. In fact, little by little and in silence he disappeared.

But the popular agitation, once aroused, continued for long. In 1042, it happened that a noble struck a plebeian, and this fortuitous incident caused the outbreak of an insurrection headed by a certain Lanzone, a man of noble origin, who had, however, joined the ranks of the common people. He at once took the leadership of the populace against the nobles, who, having deserted the city and united their forces to those of the nobility of the neighbouring towns, laid siege to Milan, and the investment lasted so long—1042 to 1044—that the defenders began to tire of it. During this period Milanese history contains no further mention of Aribert, who died in 1045. And Lanzone, seeing that matters were taking a bad turn, appealed to the Emperor for help. It was promised to him, but with the condition that the city should open its gates to 4,000 German soldiers. This condition was unacceptable, and Lanzone then sought to bring about an agreement between the nobles and the people. History at this point becomes very obscure, but it would appear that the new popular leader, by his doubtful and uncertain conduct, had lost the people's favour. It is, at all events, a fact that he also disappears at that time from the scene of action, and that no more is heard of him.

The struggle against the nobles, however, continued still more strenuously, and it was at this moment that the religious movement joined forces with the political, and still further inflamed the passions aroused. The nobility and the higher clergy ardently supported the autonomy of the Ambrosian Church, always dear to the Milanese, and combated the reform promoted by Rome. The popular party, instead, favoured Church

reform, and showed themselves averse to any interference by the Emperor in the religious or political affairs of the city. In a spirit of mockery this party was nicknamed "Pataria," which meant an association of beggars, but the gibe was accepted almost as an honour. Cardinal Anselm of Baggio, who became Pope as Alexander II., now appears as an ardent leader of this party, while the other side was headed by Aribert's successor, Guy of Velate (1045–1069), who enjoyed the favour of the Emperor and the nobles. He succeeded in removing Anselm from Milan by causing him to be appointed Bishop of Lucca; but even from a distance Anselm continued to encourage the struggle for Church reform in Milan, which was now headed by two deacons, Ariald and Landulf of Cotta. Even women took part in it by insulting and attacking the wives of priests and inciting the populace to hound them out of the churches. The wish in Rome was that scandal should be avoided, and to that end Hildebrand and the Bishop of Lucca were sent to Milan. But as it was well known that both these prelates were in favour of reform, their presence only encouraged the movement. Later on, for the same purpose and with the same result, Hildebrand returned again accompanied by St. Peter Damian. But the struggle was steadily increasing, chiefly owing to the action of Ariald and Landulf, the latter of whom, in one of the tumults which ensued, was mortally wounded. His brother, Erlembald, followed in his traces, and, being a soldier by profession, carried it on with warlike ardour. He was encouraged by Pope Alexander II., who gave him the title of "Gonfaloniere," or Standard-bearer, of the Church, and also presented him with the standard pertaining to the office. During this struggle the independence

of the Commune grew rapidly, and this is proved by the fact that at the same period it carried on a war which lasted for three years with the Commune of Pavia. Meanwhile the religious struggle within the city, which was directed specially against Archbishop Guy, continued to rage with some shedding of blood. Tired out by the contest, the Archbishop at last resigned his post and proposed a noble named Godfrey as his successor. But the people refused him, and the see remained vacant even after the nomination of Attone, who was accepted by the rural population but not by the majority within the walls. It was not till a later date—1073, when Gregory VII. became Pope—that the matter was settled by his excommunicating Godfrey and confirming Attone, thus giving satisfaction to those who had sustained the latter's cause.

In the riots which continued in Milan Arialdo was assassinated, and there remained only Erlembald, who, with a Council of thirty citizens, governed the city. And whereas, until this date, it is impossible to come to a clear understanding of the history of Milan without recognising that its government lay in the hands of the Archbishop, it now instead becomes evident that it had passed into those of the people. Notwithstanding this change, tumults still continued. Erlembald, who was a violent man, had hurled himself into the tussle with simoniacal priests, and, as had already happened in Florence, denied all efficacy to the sacraments administered by them. His violence excited that of the vavasours, upholders of the privileges and autonomy of the Ambrosian Church, who had also increased in numbers and audacity. Erlembald, not losing heart, met his opponents, and was killed in the scrimmage. The nobles then asked of

the Emperor a new Archbishop, but their action was severely censured by Gregory VII. (1075), who was at that time commencing the great struggle over investitures which agitated the whole of the Middle Ages. In the midst of this contest, which the Church sustained with indomitable ardour, we see the dawn of the free Communes and the first appearance of their consuls. We are at the commencement of a new period of Italian history.

CHAPTER V

GREGORY VII.

(1073–1085)

ROME was naturally the centre of the religious movement which was then agitating the world and more especially Italy. But the political position of the Popes was ever an insecure one. To the North they could hope, it is true, for help from the Marquises of Tuscany and to the South from the Normans. But the latter were not yet firmly installed in their possessions, owing to their frequent internecine dissensions and to their thirst for fresh conquests. The territory over which the Popes undisputably ruled was now much reduced in extent. It was confined to Latium, the Marittima, Roman Tuscia, and a part of the Sabine district. The masters of Rome were the nobles and the Prefect, who now received investiture from the Pope and who administered justice. The political magistrates of the city were elected by the people and the armed forces were independent of the Pope. During the reign of Alexander II., two Prefects had been in office simultaneously, the one appointed by the Pontiff and the other by the people, and they had naturally been at variance with one

another. In the meantime certain events occurred which promised new and important changes. In 1069 the death of Duke Godfrey, who, as we have already noted, had married Beatrice of Tuscany as his second wife, took place. He was succeeded by his son by his first wife, Godfrey "the Hunchback," who married Matilda, daughter of Beatrice by her first husband, Marquis Boniface. St. Peter Damian died on the 22nd of February, 1072. Pope Alexander II. followed him to the grave on the 21st of April, 1073, and on the following day Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII., was elected as his successor.

The new Pope, elected by the Cardinals and acclaimed by the people, announced his election to the Emperor without requesting his sanction. But, as became a man whose prudence equalled his energy, he waited before allowing himself to be consecrated until he was sure that the function would not be the cause of any serious conflict. When, however, he felt secure of his position, on the 30th of June, 1073, he allowed the consecration to take place in the presence of the Imperial representative, of Beatrice of Tuscany, and of the ex-Empress Agnes. Small and thick-set, a native of Soana in Tuscany, Hildebrand had entered the Benedictine order and subsequently that of Cluny, then animated by the most ardent religious fervour. He was, nevertheless, rather a man of action, a born dominator, always ready for struggle, than a mystic lover of letters such as St. Peter Damian. Once seated upon St. Peter's throne, it was generally expected that he would bring the reform of the Church, so long in preparation, to a rapid conclusion. His first thought, however, was to assure and improve his political position, this being necessary for the success of his project of religious reform. He had no difficulty

in securing the favour of Beatrice and Matilda, but with the Normans it was a very different matter. In 1073, after having obtained the oath of fealty and allegiance from the Longobard Prince Landulf of Benevento, he obtained the same from the Norman Prince Richard of Capua. This very fact, however, made it more difficult for him to obtain a similar act of obedience from their most powerful rival, Robert Guiscard, who plainly aspired to the lordship over the whole of Southern Italy for himself and his followers, and moreover had already, with his brother Roger's assistance, embarked upon the enterprise of conquering Sicily from the Saracens.

Meanwhile the Pope sought to profit by the jealousies of these various Princes, playing them off against one another with a view to obtaining more easily the mastery over them. He was now animated by the wish to issue a command in the name of religion to all the Princes of the earth, bidding them make war on the Infidels of the East and plant the Cross at Jerusalem after having driven from Italy both Byzantines and Saracens. In some of his letters he makes repeated mention of the necessity of succouring Constantinople against the Infidels, and declares himself ready to take part in the liberation of Christ's sepulchre. But all this was a dream destined to fade away; for the political and religious questions of the Western world, which still demanded a solution, were too urgent. In the first Council which he held in 1074 he condemned the marriage of priests; in the second, held in February, 1075, he condemned simony, and it was decreed that no Bishop or Abbot could receive investiture (by ring and crozier) from a layman, were he Marquis, King, or even the Emperor. This decree marked the com-

mencement of the great struggle over investitures—a subject bristling with difficulties—which, from that time forth, agitated the Middle Ages. Together with the ring and the crozier, a Bishop received the investiture of the feudal lands annexed to the see. But the Emperor could not permit the investiture of the feudal lands to be granted by the Pope, while the latter, on his side, could not tolerate that the secular authority should invest a Bishop with the religious office.

Gregory, who occupied himself very little with questions of dogma, but who was a strict disciplinarian, was the last man to give way on such a point, especially as his chief aim was to place the dignity of the Church in a position of absolute supremacy. In his writings this dominant idea is clearly expressed. The Pope is above all earthly princes and can command their obedience. They take rank below the Bishops, who are dependent on his authority alone. He can depose them as he can even depose Emperors: "Quod ille liceat imperatores deponere."

The struggle became very acute, and he carried it on by force of his indomitable energy. He was frequently embittered by the indifference of those around him who should have been his keenest helpers, especially the Bishops. This was the greatest torment of his life. In January, 1075, he wrote to the Abbot of Cluny: "I should like you to know how many and what are the difficulties I meet with. Frequently I pray to Jesus Christ to remove me from this life or else to grant me the power of being really useful to the Church. It is most difficult to find a Bishop who is not moved by personal interest." And, in truth, his troubles were many and of constant recurrence. In Milan he was much grieved by the

death of Erlembald and by the behaviour of the Milanese, who, after the death of their last Archbishop, instead of electing the Pope's nominee, Attone, had turned to the Emperor, requesting him to choose a successor; nor had he been able to prevent the Emperor from doing so. In Rome matters were in a still worse condition. The Prefect Cencio came to an understanding with the Emperor and the Imperial party: together they conspired against the Pope and succeeded in committing an act of scandalous violence. On Christmas Day, 1075, while he was celebrating Mass in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Cencio, accompanied by armed nobles and brandishing his naked sword, entered the church, possessed himself of the Pope's person, and, clutching him by the hair, carried him off to his own palace. But on the day following this unheard-of outrage the Roman people rose with violence in the Pope's defence and freed him from the hands of his enemies. He magnanimously forbade any vengeance to be taken on Cencio, who was able to escape from Rome to one of his castles, and Gregory VII., carried back in triumph to the church, quietly resumed the Mass at the point where he had been forced to break off and went through it to the end.

In the meanwhile another heavy storm, of a more general character and of greater historical importance, was collecting. Since the commencement of his reign Henry had been constantly struggling with the rebellious Saxons, who, always jealous of their independence, now threatened to bring about the election of a new King. Such an election would have been greatly to Gregory's advantage, for he had, from the first, met with bitter antagonism from Henry; and since 1075 had explicitly declared that, on the subject of investitures, he would admit of no sort of com-

promise. During the course of the same year, however, Henry, having succeeded in putting down the Saxon rebellion, felt himself emboldened to oppose the Pope, with whom, at that moment, things were going badly. It was, in fact, just then that Henry appointed the new Archbishop of Milan and that the assault on Gregory, which we have already described, took place in Rome. Matters reached such a point that, in a Council held at Worms on the 24th of January, 1076, the Pope was declared unworthy of the Pontificate, and the King wrote him a letter whose tenor can be gathered from its mode of address alone: "Henry, King, not by usurpation, but by the grace of God, to Hildebrand, henceforth no longer Pope, but false Monk." By this letter Henry invited Gregory, in his own name and in that of the Bishops, to descend from the Apostolic chair and cede it to another who should have the true interests of religion at heart and should not make of it a cloak to cover his own violence.

This action aroused great clamour and indignation, especially amongst the clergy. And when the Imperial messenger appeared in the presence of the Council which was called at the Lateran on the 22nd of February, 1076, to communicate the decree of Worms, the Pope was himself compelled to intervene in order to calm the tumult which broke out among the Cardinals and to prevent violent hands being laid upon the representative of the Empire. After which, arrogating to himself, as was his habit, the right of deposing sovereigns, he pronounced against Henry and his adherents the sentence of major excommunication, which freed all his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Gregory VII. was not the man to bend under threats—such treatment, on the contrary, only

strengthened his powers of resistance. Furthermore, at that moment both the secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy of Germany were discontented with the King, and abandoned him to make common cause with the Pope. Assembling at Treves in October, 1076, they declared, in accordance with the Pope's decision, expressed in his letter, that if, by the 2nd of February, 1077, the King should not have obtained absolution, he would be considered as deposed. In the meanwhile he was to withdraw from public affairs and live as a private person. On the 2nd of February, 1077, a Council, presided over by the Pope, would be held in Augsburg to pronounce judgment upon him.

Henry, now at last thoroughly alarmed, decided to go to Italy to offer his submission to the Pope and seek reconciliation with him. Gregory was then with Matilda in the Castle of Canossa, which belonged to her. And when the King, with his scant following, after having crossed the ice and snow of Mont Cenis in midwinter, humbly presented himself barefoot at the gate of the castle on the 25th of January, 1077, to ask for pardon, he was compelled to wait for three days in the snow outside its walls. Finally, on the 28th of January, the Pope allowed him to enter, and, after Henry had prostrated himself at his feet, administered the sacraments to him.

The humiliation which Henry underwent at Canossa excited great indignation and alienated so many of his own subjects that, on the 15th of March, 1077, his adversaries in Germany elected a new King in the person of Rudolf the Suabian, and many of the Lombard cities also declared themselves against him. But he seemed of a sudden to be transformed into a new man. Leaving viceroys in Italy, he returned to Germany, determined bravely to face the storm. At

the same time the Pope had returned to Rome, where fresh difficulties awaited him. During the course of that year, the Prefect Cencio, an Imperialist and therefore his adversary, died. But the other Prefect, Cintio, who remained in office and belonged to the Pope's party, was killed by Cencio's brother. Towards the end of the same year Henry's mother, Agnes, also died and was buried in Rome. During her last days on earth her heart was torn by the adversities which had befallen her son.

But the Pope's gravest difficulty lay in Southern Italy, where Robert Guiscard, who was now his enemy, was making marvellous progress. Gregory, had incited against him his rival, the other powerful Norman Prince, Richard of Capua, and the Longobard Prince Gisulf of Salerno, who had now joined forces with Richard. But his plan failed. Robert formed an alliance with Richard, and together they attacked Gisulf with the pretext of defending Amalfi, with which city the latter was at war. He also made himself master of Salerno, and Gisulf was forced to repair to Rome. In this manner did the last Longobard Principality of Southern Italy come to an end. As a natural consequence of these events Robert's power had become greater and continued to increase, and he now threatened an attack on Benevento. But at this moment (April, 1078), Richard died, and his son Jordan, after swearing fealty to the Pope, united his forces to those of the Beneventans and repulsed Robert's army. He then sought to incite the Barons of Apulia against Robert. This was the moment which the Pope, with much political acumen, chose for making overtures to Robert with a view to entering into an alliance with him. Robert willingly accepted his advances, and on the

19th of June, 1080, took the oath as his vassal. He freely gave up to the Pope the lordship over Benevento, which thenceforth belonged to the Church, whose defence Robert undertook and to whom he even paid tribute. This was the commencement of Gregory's new policy, which made of the Normans the strongest and most reliable supporters of the Church.

The Pope, now sure of Robert's aid, resolutely proceeded in his contest with Henry. For the second time, in a Synod held at Rome in 1080, he solemnly declared him to be deposed from the kingship over Germany and Italy, and recognised instead the election of Rudolf. Henry retaliated by calling together at Mayence the nineteen Bishops who had remained faithful to him, and causing them to declare afresh, on the 31st of May, the Pope's deposition. On the 25th of June of the same year, 1080, he caused the numerous Bishops whom he had called together at Brixen to elect instead Guiberto, Archbishop of Ravenna, a man eminent by virtue of distinguished birth, much learning, and the high office he held, and who, moreover, had long aspired to the tiara. As Antipope and protected by Henry, he could prove very dangerous to Gregory. But for the moment Henry's thoughts were occupied by the necessity of defending himself against Rudolf, who had raised an army in Germany. In October they came into conflict, and Rudolf was victorious in the battle fought on the Elster, in which, however, he lost his life. Henry was therefore free to cross the Alps at the head of an army in the spring of 1081 and attempt the coercion of the Pope.

The world's stage was occupied at this period by five dominant personages. On the one hand Henry IV. and the Antipope Guiberto, on the other Gregory VII., Countess Matilda, and Robert Guiscard. Beatrice

had died at an advanced age on the 18th of April, 1076, shortly after her husband Godfrey, whose death took place on the 26th of February of the same year. On his descent into Italy, Henry stopped at Pavia, where he took the Iron crown, and assembled a Council by which he caused the Antipope, who assumed the name of Clement III., to be recognised. He proceeded thence to Rome in May, 1081, and during forty days besieged the city. By that time, however, the feverish season had set in, and he was forced to withdraw his troops. During the course of 1082 he twice renewed the siege, and only at the end of the year did he succeed in entering the Leonine city and fighting his way to St. Peter's. His intention was to possess himself of the Pope's person; but Gregory had taken refuge within the Castle of St. Angelo. On the 21st of March Henry crossed the Tiber and proceeded to the Lateran, where he called together the Cardinals and magnates, bidding Gregory VII. to appear before them. But the Pope paid no heed to his invitation and remained within the castle. The assembly then declared him deposed and recognised Clement III. as Pope. At Eastertide of the year 1084 (31st of March), the new Pope crowned Henry IV., together with his wife Bertha, in St. Peter's. Henry then, with his German troops and with a large number of Romans, proceeded to invest the Castle of St. Angelo so closely that Gregory VII. was placed in imminent danger. The Pope's only hope of salvation lay, at this moment, with the Normans.

CHAPTER VI

NORMAN ENTERPRISES IN THE EAST—ROBERT GUISCARD RETURNS TO ITALY AND LIBERATES THE POPE, WHO DIES AT SALERNO

(1081—1085)

The Normans, especially Robert, aided by his younger brother Richard, were continuing their successful career. And, moreover, under their rule, Southern Italy appeared to be transformed. The various elements which composed the country, until then constantly tearing each other to pieces, seemed to have fused into unity and to have become almost a new people. The Longobard dynasties, which, according to the traditions of that race, had been for ever in discord and at war with one another, were gone, and the Byzantines had been repeatedly repulsed. A feudal society, tending rapidly towards Monarchy and full of an audacious spirit of adventure, was in process of formation. It seemed, little by little, to be assimilating the Saracens, to whom, in a spirit of toleration, then quite new, freedom in the exercise of their religion was allowed. Roger, the youngest of the de Hauteville brothers, at first with Robert's assistance and later on alone, had, by a series of fortunate

campaigns, completed the conquest of Sicily. These wars compelled the Normans, who had already proved their bravery on land, to form a fleet, and mindful of the traditions of their Scandinavian ancestors, they proved themselves thenceforth no less brave and audacious by sea. Their crews and their armies were now made up of Apulians, Calabrians, and all the other Southern races who, united to the Normans and fused into an admirable whole, emulated the valour of their leaders. The Saracens, whom we find even in the times of Frederick II. and Manfred enrolled in the Southern armies—although always in separate regiments—also joined them.

The great movement which, for political and commercial as well as religious reasons, was to culminate in the Crusades had already begun to manifest itself. And Robert Guiscard, always swayed by the adventurous spirit of his race and family, who had made his first venture against the Byzantines in Italy and finally driven them from the country, now felt himself compelled to pursue them even to Constantinople, with the intention of occupying their capital. Nor did this enterprise appear to be beyond his powers. His fame had risen so high that the Emperor Michael VII., on ascending the throne, had declared that he esteemed him above all other sovereigns, "the wisest and most learned of men," and in order to propitiate him had sought to form ties of relationship with him.

But in 1081 Robert had already sent his son Bohemond, with a fleet, to besiege Corfù, following quickly himself with a vast army: the chroniclers speak of 150 ships and 30,000 soldiers. After taking and occupying Corfù, assisted by his brother Roger, he proceeded to besiege Durazzo in Dalmatia.

The Emperor Alexius then decided to oppose him with energy, but Robert's fame was such that he dared not face him unassisted. He therefore turned to the Venetians, who were already beginning to become powerful by sea, and they at once declared themselves willing to help him, for they were jealous of this new power which had sprung up in the South. The Venetians, however, were only formidable on the sea, where, in fact, they obtained the first advantage. But the Southern army was already fighting on land, and, although the two allies could muster a larger number of men (having received reinforcements from various sides), their army was routed with a loss computed at 6,000 men. This victory enabled Robert to occupy a considerable territory, and, on the 21st of February, 1082, aided by treason within the town, he entered Durazzo. The disorder which then reigned in Constantinople was so great that it appeared no difficult task to obtain possession of the city. But at this very moment Robert received disturbing news from Italy. The Eternal City had been besieged by Henry, who, fearing Robert's increasing power, had now become his enemy. Henry had, in fact, already come to an understanding with the Southern malcontents, inciting them against their lord. Moreover, Gregory VII. was in great danger, and urgently requesting Norman help. These tidings were of the gravest import to the Normans themselves. If, in fact, Henry were victorious at Rome and able to secure the Pope's person, he could then safely and triumphantly pursue his way into Southern Italy and upset everything. And Robert, therefore, as soon as Roger had joined him with the intention of proceeding with him towards the East, was forced instead to return to Italy, while he left his son Bohemond

to carry on the war in Dalmatia. He appears, however, to have commanded Bohemond to refrain for the moment from pushing too far East, and to restrict his operations to the western provinces of the Empire and the Balkan or Hellenic peninsula. He himself meanwhile moved with lightning rapidity, and landed at Otranto, with a scant following, in April, 1082. Here it was necessary to collect a new army to put down the revolt fomented by Henry, and proceed to Rome with a force sufficient to confront him. All this required time, and the difficulties were many. Robert, however, proved equal to the task. Meanwhile, as we have already related, the Pope had taken refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he was besieged by the Romans, and Henry, after repeated attempts, had, with the help of the nobles, effected an entrance into the city. On the 24th of March, 1084, he had caused Gregory VII. to be deposed, the Antipope Clement III. to be installed, and had himself been crowned Emperor in St. Peter's on the 31st.

But on the 24th of May Robert was already beneath the walls of Rome with an army, according to the chroniclers, of 6,000 horse and 30,000 foot. It was, at all events, a very strong force. Together with the Normans, there were now Calabrians, Apulians, and other Southern Italians, not to mention a considerable number of Saracens. Three days before this Henry had withdrawn, after exhorting the Romans who remained faithful to him and the German garrison which he left behind to resist to the utmost, and promising to return with a greater force as soon as he had settled affairs in Germany.

This occurred on the 21st of May. On the 28th Robert entered Rome, after giving battle to the Romans and the Emperor's Germans, and defeating

them. His soldiers, and especially the Saracens, then put the city to fire and sword. When the Pope had been liberated Robert conducted him, surrounded by his troops, to the Lateran. Even then the Romans and Germans continued to resist, audaciously attacking the victorious army, which, however, drove them back and continued its work of plunder and burning. This was, according to many writers, the worst disaster which, till then, had befallen Rome. And the ruin thus caused must, beyond all else, have embittered the soul of Gregory VII. To see his own life defended against the Romans by Saracens, who profaned churches and destroyed monuments, must indeed have been to him the keenest of all his griefs. Robert then conveyed him to Salerno, where, on the 25th of May, 1085, his troubled and active life came to an end before he had been able, as he hoped and desired, to return to Rome in order to re-establish order and consolidate Church reform. His last words were worthy of him and of his whole life: "Dilexi justitiam, odii iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio."

CHAPTER VII

FURTHER NORMAN ENTERPRISES IN THE EAST—URBAN II. AND THE FIRST CRUSADE —DEATH OF ROBERT GUISCARD — DEATH OF HENRY IV.—CORONATION OF HENRY V.

(1083–1111)

After Robert's departure the Eastern enterprise met with no success. Bohemond was brave, but, following his father's instructions, he restricted his efforts to the conquest of fresh territory within the limits of the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire without advancing further in the direction of Constantinople. In 1083 things began to go badly with him. The Græco-Venetian fleet was everywhere victorious, and all the advantages gained in 1082 seemed on the point of being lost. But in the autumn of 1084 Robert, having re-established order in Southern Italy, sailed from Otranto with a fleet of 150 vessels, and very soon matters changed aspect. In November, near the island of Corfù, of which the Byzantines had repossessed themselves, he gave battle to the enemy and defeated them repeatedly. The chroniclers, with their usual exaggeration, speak of 13,000 killed and 2,500

prisoners. It is certain, however, that the consequences of this naval battle were very important. The island of Corfù again fell into the hands of the Normans; consternation was great at Constantinople and among the Venetians, who, believing themselves to be masters of the sea, had made sure of victory. A serious tumult took place in Venice, and the Doge, who was held responsible for the defeat, was deposed.

Unfortunately a severe epidemic broke out at that moment among the Normans, and it is said that they lost 10,000 men. Added to this, their provisions failed, and the arrival of more Venetian galleys gave the latter a momentary advantage. But it was no easy task to curb Robert's energy. During the summer of 1085 he renewed hostilities with fresh vigour. He sent his youngest son, Roger "Borsa,"[1] to attack the island of Cephalonia, where he soon joined him and took the command. But, on landing at the northern extremity of the island, he suddenly fell ill, and died on the 17th of July, 1085. With his death the aspect of affairs at once changed.

Robert had found Southern Italy in great disorder and divided among various races hostile to one another, but he had forced them all to submit to his authority and had brought new life into the country by infusing into it and into all his followers his own heroic spirit. His second wife, Sichelgaida, sister to Prince Gisulf II. of Salerno, even accompanied him on his naval expeditions, and was by his side during the last hours of his life. It is indeed marvellous to see how, under his rule, Southern Italy became a power capable of throwing herself into wars of such magnitude; of resisting Henry IV.,

[1] A nickname meaning purse or satchel.

the Byzantine Empire, and Venice. But with Robert's death everything collapsed. The army and the fleet withdrew from Dalmatia and Cephalonia, the Eastern expedition was abandoned, and his two sons, Bohemond and Roger Borsa, equally valorous, contested their paternal inheritance against one another.

Bohemond, son of the first wife, was the elder, and had, therefore, a prior right to the succession. But Roger Borsa, shrewder and less impetuous, had been chosen by his father as his heir and was seconded by the authority of his mother, Sichelgaida, a high-souled woman who naturally sided with her own son. He was also the favourite of his uncle Roger, who, in a spirit of adventure equal to that of Robert, had rapidly achieved the conquest of Sicily and succeeded in extorting tribute from the islands of Malta and Gozo. Thus it came about that Roger Borsa, in September, 1085, assumed the title of Duke of Apulia—an act which was certainly not calculated to put an end to the struggle between the two brothers.

The disorder which reigned in Rome after the death of Gregory VII. was even more deplorable. The Cardinals were evidently disposed to elect Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino. And notwithstanding his peaceful disposition and his repugnance to the assumption of the tiara at such a dangerous moment, he allowed himself to be elected on the 24th of May, 1086, and took the name of Victor III. But the Imperial party prevented his consecration, took possession of St. Peter's and of a portion of the city, and recalled the Antipope Clement III. Although Victor III. had the help of Matilda's troops and of the Normans, and thus was able to return several times to Rome, he

nevertheless was always forced to quit the city afresh. And even after his party had in their turn obtained possession of St. Peter's and had been consecrated there, he was again compelled to fly. He then retired to Monte Cassino, where his troubled life came to an end on the 16th of September, 1087.

On the 12th of March, 1088, another Pope was elected at Terracina, and was at once consecrated under the name of Urban II. A monk of Cluny, Bishop of Ostia, of French nationality, the friend of Gregory VII., and a man of energetic character and zealous in the cause of religion, he succeeded, with the help of the Normans, in entering Rome during the month of November. But he was forced to struggle with the Imperial party, which still upheld Clement III., and was obliged to retire to the South. After Robert's death and the ensuing disturbances not much assistance could be hoped for from that quarter. Urban therefore counted still more on Countess Matilda, whom he now induced to take as her second husband the youthful Guelf V. of Bavaria, member of a family which was adverse to the Emperor. In 1090 Henry again descended upon Italy in order to attack Matilda, and while Clement III., who had accompanied him to Northern Italy, entered Rome at the invitation of the Imperial party, Henry commenced his campaign against Matilda and wrested Mantua and other towns from her. But his enemies fomented rebellion in his rear, and succeeded in detaching from him his son Conrad, who joined Matilda and was received by her with enthusiasm. Milan, Lodi, and Cremona made common cause with Conrad, and, in 1093, he was crowned King of Italy in Milan. The life of Henry IV. was much embittered at this moment

by the fact that his second wife also deserted him and took the side of Conrad and Matilda. In the midst of this confusion the Pope re-entered Rome, not, however, without encountering strong resistance, and found himself compelled to take up his residence in the private abode of the Frangipani family.

Urban II. now achieved historical importance as the initiator of the Crusades. He proclaimed the holy war for the first time at Piacenza in March, 1095, amid general enthusiasm. In November he proclaimed it for the second time, and with greater solemnity, near Clermont, in a Council attended by 13 Archbishops and 205 Bishops, to the almost delirious enthusiasm of the multitude, who cried, "It is the will of God!" Peter the Hermit seconded him, everywhere inflaming the people by his eloquence. The fact that this was all happening without the direct participation of the Emperor, who was left in the shade while all Europe was moving Eastwards in arms at the sole invitation of the Pope, enormously increased the authority of the one at the expense of the other.

In general the principal part in the Crusades was taken by the French, but all the other Christian peoples contributed to them in a greater or less degree. In particular the feudal lords who could arm and maintain themselves and their dependents in time of war at their own expense were the chief participators. The lesser feudatories in many cases sold all their goods, in the hope of refunding themselves by plunder and booty.

It is erroneously believed that Italy, through lack of religious enthusiasm, took little part in the Crusades, and sought only to obtain economic and commercial profit from them by the transport of

men and provisions in the galleys of her Communes. But, in the first place, it is false to assert that Italy was then lacking in religious sentiment, for, as we have repeatedly noted, it was a time of great fervour. Secondly, although the principal motive of the Crusades was undoubtedly religious, it is a fact, which applies to all nations equally, that commercial interest played its part. The steady advance of the Infidels threatened to increase the difficulty of intercourse between East and West and to create, therefore, fresh obstacles to that trade with the East which was always a great source of wealth to the nations of Europe. Certainly the artisans of the Communes could not easily arm themselves and set off at their own expense, but they embarked in large numbers on the Communal vessels, without which it is difficult to see how the Crusades could have taken place at all. Nor did these Italian burghers limit themselves to the transport of armies and provisions: but they conquered many coast towns which could never have been taken unless attacked by sea. The many territories which in consequence were occupied by Italian Communes, the various colonies which they established, the important privileges which they obtained, are a clear proof of the active part they took in the Crusades. And many, too were the Italian nobles, from the country and from the towns, who, like the nobles of France, Germany, and England, went on the Crusades. The greater number were from Southern Italy, which, as we have seen, had become a feudal and military land, whose people, under Robert Guiscard, had been the first to attempt war in the East. It was through Southern Italy that the great stream of Crusaders commenced to flow on their way to embark for the

East. It was therefore only natural that many Southerners should be drawn into the current, seized by the general enthusiasm for the holy war. Bohemond, Robert Guiscard's son, was one of these, and for its sake he gave no further thought to the struggle with his brother over his inheritance. The chroniclers speak of a large number of Southern nobles, mentioning a few of their names, who sold all they possessed to follow him when he embarked in the spring of 1097. In one of his letters, Urban II. says that Bohemond departed "cum septem millibus delectae juventutis Italiae." Other writers speak of 10,000 knights. Of a certainty their number must have been considerable, for the chronicler Malaterra says that the Norman army in Italy was much weakened by their departure.[1]

Roger I., meanwhile, was carrying out his undertaking with greater energy than ever. He was truly the second founder of the dynasty and of the Norman authority in Italy, equal in valour and in efficiency to his elder brother, Robert Guiscard. The latter, who had sent him to conquer Sicily from the Saracens, more than once crossed the Straits in person to assist him, and himself took the command of the army in 1072, when Palermo was occupied and again brought under Christian rule after 240 years of Mahometan domination. After the departure of Robert for the East and his death in 1085, and the subsequent departure of Bohemond, Roger Borsa remained in the peninsula while his uncle Roger I. carried on the long and difficult Sicilian campaign. For a time, with the concurrence of the nephew whom he then favoured, he bore the title of Count of Sicily and Calabria.

[1] See De Blasis, "La Insurrezione Pugliese," vol. iii. p. 54 *et seq.*

Roger Borsa took the rest of Southern Italy (with the exception of Benevento, which belonged to the Pope), comprising Capua, Aversa, Amalfi, and Naples. But when Roger I. had completed the conquest of Sicily (1091), he aimed at conquering Southern Italy as well. The moment was well chosen, for the departure of the Crusaders, which weakened his nephew's army, gave him an advantage by which he was not slow to profit, and he made use also of the Saracen soldiers of Southern Italy, who began to flock to his service. Notwithstanding this, the Pope encouraged his cause. By the conquest of Sicily from the Infidel, he had brought about the re-establishment of Christian Bishops in the island, and so had naturally made himself acceptable to the Church. Urban II., in fact, by the Bull of the 5th of July, 1098, conceded to him the privilege of the so-called Apostolic Legation for Sicily, by virtue of which the sovereigns of the island enjoyed for a long time (not, however, without controversy), the right of having no Papal Legate imposed upon them without their consent and of exercising the function of Papal representatives themselves without intermediaries. In such wise did Robert's power rapidly increase. By his third wife, Adelaide of Monferrato, he had two sons, Simon and Roger II., born respectively in 1093 and 1095. When he died, full of honours and glory, on the 22nd of June, 1101, at the age of seventy, they were therefore still minors. The government of the island was entrusted to his widow, and she reigned in Simon's name until 1105, when the latter died, and in that of Roger II. until 1112, when she left Sicily for the East, and married King Baldwin of Jerusalem. Meanwhile Robert Guiscard's two sons died in Southern Italy; the younger, Roger Borsa, first, and then Bohemond, the elder. After many

vicissitudes in the East he had succeeded in founding for himself the principality of Antioch, and then, having returned to Italy, was preparing new expeditions when death overtook him. The sole survivor, therefore, was Roger Borsa's son William, a man of gentle nature and weak health, who would have been incapable of resisting Roger II. He died shortly after, in 1127, leaving no heirs. Upon this Roger II., valiant, ambitious, and a worthy successor to his father and uncle, set sail for Salerno, where he landed, and was received with acclamation. He sent ambassadors to Rome requesting Pope Honorius II. (1124–1130) who then occupied the throne of St. Peter, to grant him the investiture of the Duchy of Apulia. But Honorius was now hostile to Roger, and suspicious of his steady advance, almost to the frontier of the Papal States. The Pope was, in fact, preparing for open hostilities against Roger (1128), but realising that his forces were insufficient, he eventually conceded the desired investiture in the month of August of the same year. Roger then proceeded more rapidly with the task of conquering the Southern States of the peninsula. He held a first assembly in Salerno, which was followed by a Parliament in Palermo, where, at Christmas, 1130, he had himself crowned in the cathedral with almost Oriental pomp. The districts which had not yet submitted to his rule, or which sought to rebel against him, were cruelly punished by fire and sword and put to the sack, this bloody work being carried out by the Saracen soldiers. Amalfi was also forced into submission, and Naples, after having heroically withstood the cruel sufferings of a close investment, fell in 1134. But even when these successes had been obtained, Southern Italy was not really subjugated.

Meanwhile many important events had taken place in the other parts of Italy and outside her boundaries. Urban II., during the last years of his life, had finally succeeded, with Matilda's help, in establishing himself securely in Rome. He received there, on the 15th of July, 1099, the joyful news that the Crusaders had taken Jerusalem. He died on the 29th of the same month, and on the 14th of August he was succeeded by Paschal II. (1099–1118), who immediately found himself in conflict with Henry IV. and with the Roman nobles, who were continually in a state of tumult and ever ready to place new Antipopes on St. Peter's throne. He was therefore forced to seek refuge with Countess Matilda. In Germany, after the rebellion of Conrad, Henry's eldest son, the younger (afterwards Henry V.) also rebelled against their father, and his first act, in Germany, was to depose Conrad, whose prestige in Italy was already almost lost owing to his having fallen out of favour with Countess Matilda. But Conrad died shortly after, in 1101, having broken all the promises he had made to his father, Henry IV. The latter, after a term of imprisonment, had been forced to belie his former deeds. After escaping from prison and repenting of his submission, he sought in vain to regain power, but his days ended miserably on the 7th of August, 1106. Henry V., at the commencement of his reign, enjoyed the Pope's favour, for the latter hoped that the Church would not be forced into the same bitter struggle with him that it had gone through with his father. The Pope's illusion was, however, quickly dispelled, for it soon became apparent not only that the son's point of view with regard to the question of investitures and to the relations between Church and State could not possibly differ from the father's, but also that the son was a man of far greater

decision and firmness of character. In fact, Henry V. was already on his way to Italy at the head of an army, and accompanied by numerous legal experts, with whose assistance he might better sustain the Imperial rights in the question of investitures.

The Pope thus found himself placed in a very difficult position. There existed, it is true, in the Lombard Communes, a lively aversion to the Germans, but it could not be expected that they would be ready to undertake a war against the Emperor on the question of investitures. There remained only Countess Matilda and the Normans. But the former, now an old woman, had become doubtful and vacillating in her policy. And very little reliance could be placed on the Normans since the death of Roger I. and the regency of Adelaide, for the condition of their provinces was uncertain. It was therefore necessary to negotiate, and finally an understanding was arrived at. The Church agreed to relinquish all feudal authority over Bishops and the King all right of investiture, leaving such right free of any State control. Bishops were henceforth to live on their tithes and by the income of their own possessions, renouncing all temporal power. As a result of this arrangement, the Imperial revenues would be increased and the Empire would acquire the lordship over new fiefs, but the Imperial authority over the clergy would be much diminished, and the Communes, freed from the power exercised over them by the Bishops, would attain to greater independence. Henry V. was to be crowned Emperor after he had sanctioned this agreement, which he accepted subject to the consent of the Bishops and magnates of the Empire. And it is possible that the Pope on his side accepted it because he was sure that the Bishops and magnates would

refuse their consent. The 12th of February, 1111, was fixed as the date of the definite sanction and for the subsequent coronation. On that day the Pope celebrated Mass in St. Peter's, and immediately afterwards the reading of the agreement commenced. But when the clause containing the renunciation by the Bishops of their temporal power and that of the Empire to the right of investiture was reached, a violent tumult broke out among the Bishops and magnates. Henry, thereupon, doubting the Pope's good faith, made him his prisoner. This act caused a popular insurrection, and fighting began in the streets and even inside the church of St. Peter's.

The insurrection assumed such proportions that Henry was compelled to realise that a regular army was no match for a whole people in rebellion within the city walls. He decided upon retreat, and moved to Tivoli, taking the Pope and sixteen Cardinals with him as prisoners. But, partly on account of the disordered condition of Southern Italy after the death of Robert Guiscard's sons, and partly because Countess Matilda made no move, a new agreement was entered into two months later. The Pope, no longer able to hope for any assistance, conceded to the King the right of investiture by means of the ring and crozier for all the Bishops and Abbots of the Empire, who should have been freely elected without simony. Only after investiture could their consecration take place. The granting of this concession was a humiliation for the Church. Henry V. was then crowned in St. Peter's on the 13th of April, 1111, but the city was still in revolt and the Emperor was unable to cross the Tiber to enter it. The privilege conceded to him on the 11th of April by Paschal II. was ironically called a "Privilegium,"

and was condemned by a Council held in the Lateran on the 18th of March, 1112. The Pope was forced to admit his error, but in spite of this the general discontent against him was so great that there was even a question of his deposition. Finally matters took a quieter turn, and for a time there was peace.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF COUNTESS MATILDA TO THE DEATH OF ROGER II.

(1115–1154)

On the 24th of July, 1115, the childless Countess Matilda, who was by that time separated from her last husband, died at the advanced age of seventy. Her death embittered afresh the contest between the Church and the Empire. She left the whole of her lands to the Church; but such a disposition could evidently only refer to her allodial possessions, for the lands she held in fief naturally reverted to the Empire. And as it was not in all cases easy to separate the one from the other, a series of vexed questions arose. Furthermore, Matilda's death broke up the Marquisate of Tuscany, which the Empire was not able to maintain united under its representative, while no successor to Countess Matilda could be found. The consequence of this state of things was that those Tuscan towns over which the Marquises had exercised more or less indirect authority took advantage of the propitious moment to declare themselves independent Communes. This happened especially in the case of Florence, where a Consular Government, which marked the commencement of the glorious

history of her liberty, was instituted immediately after Matilda's death.

Meanwhile the struggle over investitures was revived, and the current of opinion among the clergy was so adverse to the Emperor that Paschal II. was at last forced to condemn his own Privilegium on the 10th of March, 1116. In the presence of the Council he exclaimed, "Feci autem ut homo quia sunt pulvis et cinis." Nevertheless, the Imperial party was so strong in Rome that the Pope had to fly for safety. Of all this the Communes naturally took advantage to make their independence more complete. In Tuscany the Imperial Vicars, who had been sent there to reconstitute the Marquisate, were repulsed by force of arms, and in Lombardy a still more violent contest was preparing. Henry V., however, entered Rome surrounded by his partisans, almost in triumph, and kept the Easter feast there in 1117. He now desired to be crowned a second time, to cross the Tiber, and to make a solemn procession through the streets of the city—a satisfaction which had been denied him in 1111. But on his approach the Pope had again fled from Rome and the Cardinals dared not themselves assume the responsibility. At last Cardinal Burdino, moved by personal ambition, consented, and the Emperor, having attained his object, made peace with the city and departed, leaving Rome at the mercy of the nobles. Paschal II. was then able to return, escorted, however, by his armed followers and friends, for party strife still raged, but he died soon after, on the 21st of June, 1118.

On the 24th Gelasius II. was elected, but the Frangipani, who were his enemies, at once possessed themselves of his person and imprisoned him in one of their towers. The people, however, rose in

his favour, liberated him, and reconducted him to the Lateran. The adverse party appealed to Henry V., requesting him to come to Rome and bring about the election of another Pope, and when he, at once, hurried thither, Gelasius escaped by the Tiber and went to Gaeta, where he was consecrated on the 10th of March, 1119. On the 8th of March Henry had caused Cardinal Burdino, who had been condemned for crowning him a second time in 1117 (against the will of Paschal II.), to be elected and consecrated in St. Peter's. Burdino took the name of Gregory VIII. Very soon after, there were in Rome both Pope and Antipope, but the tumult to which their presence gave rise was of such violence that Gelasius II. was again forced to fly. He retired to the monastery of Cluny, and died there on the 29th of January, 1119. The Cardinals then elected and subsequently (on the 3rd of February) consecrated Callixtus II. at Vienne, in France. Callixtus was a man of resolute character, who, in the Council which was held at Rheims on the 29th of October, renewed the prohibition to the secular authority of conferring investiture. He excommunicated the Emperor and the Antipope, and on the 3rd of June, 1120, entered Rome. The Antipope, Gregory VIII., was compelled to fly to Sutri. There he was besieged by the opposing party, who made him prisoner, and, after heaping insult upon him and treating him with savage cruelty, left him to perish miserably. Callixtus II., now free of his rival, succeeded in coming to an agreement with the Emperor on the 23rd of September, 1122. The latter renounced the right of investiture by ring and crozier and recognised the free election and ordination of Bishops. The Pope, on his side, made the concession that, in the case of Germany, the

election of Bishops should take place in the presence of the Emperor's representative and that they should receive, by means of the sceptre, which was to be substituted for the crozier, the grant of such temporal possessions as were dependent on the Empire. In all other countries, however, the grant of temporal power was to be made by means of the sceptre six months after consecration. By this arrangement the Empire granted feudal lordship and the Church the ecclesiastical office. Callixtus II., who died on the 13th of December, 1124, had thus finally obtained for the Church a victorious issue to this vexed question. After his death Honorius II. was elected and reigned from 1124 to 1130.

On the 23rd of May, 1125, the Emperor Henry V. also died, and Lothair of Saxony was elected and crowned King of Germany. Honorius II., who had declared himself adverse to the rival candidate, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, and who, believing him to be in opposition to the Church in the question of investiture, had even excommunicated him, at once recognised Lothair. Notwithstanding this, Conrad presented himself in Milan as aspirant to the Empire, and received the Iron crown at Monza from the hands of the Archbishop. This coronation, however, counted for nothing, for Lothair was invited to Rome to receive the Imperial crown. But in the meantime Pope Honorius died on the 13th of February, 1130, and anarchy at once reigned in Rome, where a Pope and an Antipope were elected simultaneously. On the 14th of February the Frangipani caused Innocent II. to be elected, and the opposing party elected a member of the Pierleoni family, who had been a disciple of Peter Abélard in France and had subsequently retired to Cluny. He now took the name of

ROGER, KING OF SICILY, RECEIVES HIS CROWN FROM CHRIST.

(Mosaic in La Martorana, Palermo.)

To face p. 201.

Anacletus II. The majority of the Romans and the Normans declared themselves for the latter, and in consequence Innocent II., whose election was held to be the more valid of the two, was forced into exile and withdrew to France. Anacletus II., strong in the support of Roger II., remained in Rome and sent his Legate to consecrate Roger as King of Sicily, when the solemn proclamation was made at Palermo in 1130.

After this the new King crossed the Straits and, as we have already related, proceeded to occupy the Southern States of the peninsula. Innocent II., on the other hand, was favoured by France, by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose eloquence carried great weight, and, more especially, by Lothair, who promised to escort him to Rome and receive the Imperial crown from his hands. And, in fact, they moved together towards the Eternal City. Innocent, however, halted at Pisa, where he sought to bring about an agreement between that city and Genoa, both at that time powerful by sea. They promised him their ships to aid him in returning to Rome, where, at the end of April, 1133, he made his entrance together with Lothair II. and his 2,000 horsemen. Anacletus then took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. On the 4th of June, 1133, Innocent II. crowned Lothair, who, shortly after, was obliged to return to Germany. The Pope was now alone in Rome, for Anacletus had retired elsewhere. Roger II., meanwhile, was advancing rapidly in his occupation of the Southern States, and, as we have already noted, he was on the side of Anacletus. For this reason the friends of Innocent again appealed for aid to Lothair, who decided to proceed to Southern Italy with two armies. One of these, which he com-

manded in person, passed through Faenza and Florence, and, after traversing Campania, entered Benevento with Pope Innocent, on the 23rd of March, 1137. The other force, under the command of Henry, the Emperor's son-in-law, advanced across the Marches into Apulia. Roger II., realising that he was not sufficiently strong to resist these two armies, which were supported by the fleets of Genoa and Pisa (hostile to the Normans), and were also helped by an insurrection insidiously fomented in the Southern provinces, retreated before the advancing enemy. Naples, Capua, and other towns joined the rising, and it seemed as though the Empire were finally about to triumph in Southern Italy. But, instead, the Imperial troops were not able to maintain themselves for long in those parts, and Lothair was in bad health. Of a sudden he turned back, without leaving any trace of his passage, and on the 13th of December, 1137, he died in Tyrol.

And Roger II., always on the alert, landed again with a new army from Sicily to recommence the task of conquest. These events were of course unfortunate for Innocent II. But Anacletus died on the 25th of January, 1138. He was followed by another Antipope, Victor IV., who, however, soon made his submission, and the Lateran Council of 1139 was able to announce the cessation of the Schism, to recognise Innocent II. as the only true Pope, and to annul the acts of Anacletus. This Council also condemned the teaching of Arnold of Brescia (like Anacletus a disciple of Abélard), which was rapidly spreading in Italy and which was destined soon to create such a revolution. Innocent was so much emboldened by the turn which matters had taken that he began a campaign against Roger, in which he was

at once defeated and taken prisoner. But Roger, following the example of his ancestors, treated the Pope with such veneration that, not only was he pardoned and freed from the sentence of excommunication which the Pope had but recently pronounced against him, but, on the 27th of July, 1139, he was confirmed in his titles of King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia, and Prince of Capua. Benevento remained the property of the Church.

Then Roger, still thirsting for adventure, power, and glory, sure of his kingdom and seeing no obstacles in the way of his daring and good fortune, set off on new ventures in Africa and in the East. He obtained possession of Tripoli and then of Corfù, which, however, was forced to capitulate, after a heroic defence, to his allied enemies, the Venetians and Byzantines, in 1150. In no way disheartened by this reverse, he despatched his fleet, under the command of the valiant Admiral George of Antioch, to carry out even bolder schemes. George, after facing the Byzantine fleet, penetrated with forty galleys into the port of Constantinople, and landed his men in the Imperial gardens, whence their arrows pierced the very windows of the palace. It appeared then as though a new, mighty, and formidable power, capable of measuring itself with the most potent sovereigns of the world, had arisen in Southern Italy. But of a sudden all was changed. On the 27th of February, 1154, Roger died: his great Admiral had shortly predeceased him. Innocent II. then seemed secure on his throne. But he soon perceived that he had now to reckon with another power, that of the Communes, which was rising and spreading in Northern and Central Italy and in Rome itself.

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE OF THE COMMUNES—ARNOLD OF BRESCIA AND HIS EXECUTION—DEATH OF HADRIAN IV.

(1143–1159)

As we have noted, the Communes were already in existence, but at this period their development became more rapid. There can be no doubt that the struggle over investitures between the Pope and the Emperor contributed to bring this about, but the principal cause was an economic one. Trade with the East was always a source of profit to Western nations. The historian Heyd, in treating of the commerce of the Levant, has observed that the Arabs, even before the days of Mahomet, had been the first to engage in it, and, later on, they continued it on a far larger scale. The Byzantines then acted as middlemen, sending to the West the goods brought by the Arabs to Constantinople, which was for long the great emporium of this international trade. There also the galleys of Bari, Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta were to be seen, and these towns began to flourish in consequence. Later, the Eastern trade passed into the hands of the Vene-

tians, the Pisans, and the Genoese, who were able to carry it on more largely and with more success, and it was the foundation of their great prosperity, indeed, of Italian prosperity, in the central and northern parts of the peninsula.

The geographical position and the moral conditions of Rome had also contributed not a little to the increase of Eastern trade. As the capital of Christendom, Rome held intercourse with the whole of the civilised world, and, owing to benefices and the payment of tithes, she had soon become the centre of many of the most important banking operations of the world. Large quantities of Byzantine stuffs and objects of Arab and Oriental workmanship found their way there from Africa, Spain, Palermo, and Constantinople for the adornment of churches and for the use of the clergy. This branch of commerce also had been, during the eighth and ninth centuries, in the hands of the Southern cities, many of which were more or less subject to the Byzantines. But the coming of the Normans, which destroyed the partial autonomy of these cities, also damaged their commercial prosperity. The Byzantines were now their enemies and opposed to the growth of the new Norman power, against which, as we have already noted, they had formed an alliance with the Venetians. But there was another notable cause which contributed to transfer Eastern trade into the hands of the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, making of them the purveyors of these goods to all Europe. Germany had been prospering for some time, and her commerce was naturally increasing. The incursions, formerly of the Avars and later of the Hungarians, had prevented direct intercourse with the East. Trade therefore was obliged to

make its way across the Alps and along the valley of the Danube by means of the Italians, and especially of the Venetians, who enjoyed a most fortunate geographical position—one of the principal causes of their future grandeur. Genoa and Pisa followed the Venetian lead, and it was, in fact, on account of their trade with the East that they found themselves at war with the Saracens, who were continually advancing. These wars were almost a prelude to the Crusades, which ended by placing trade altogether in the power of the Italian cities. These cities, as we have already observed, took a far larger part in the Crusades than is generally believed. Not only did their vessels transport men and stores, but their citizens took a very active part in the wars. We have already noted that, unless they had participated in the fighting, it would be impossible to explain their conquests, the numerous colonies which they founded, and the many privileges which they obtained all over the East.

In 1097 many members of the principal Genoese families embarked on the Communal galleys, and when they reached the port of St. Simeon, only a few miles distant from Antioch, disembarked and took part in the siege of that city, which had already commenced, and kept open the communications with the sea. After the taking of Antioch in 1098, Bohemond granted to them important concessions, and the original document has been handed down to us. In 1099 a Pisan fleet of 120 vessels, under the command of Archbishop Daiberto, joined the Crusade, but he only arrived at the end of the war, when Jerusalem was already taken. In the summer of 1100 a fleet of 200 Venetian vessels undertook to serve under Godfrey de Bouillon. During the course of the same year the Genoese landed at

Laodicea, taking part in the war and opening up trade with Syria. Within a few years all the seaboard of Syria and Palestine was dotted with Genoese warehouses and colonies. The Genoese were present at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre (1104), where they made rich booty. The numerous privileges which they obtained are registered in their "Liber Jurium." Soon after the death of Godfrey in 1100 the Genoese fleet, which had landed their soldiers at Laodicea, contributed to a considerable extent in placing Baldwin on the throne of Jerusalem and nominating Tancred King of Antioch. In 1114 the Pisans fought bravely in the island of Majorca, which was conquered for the moment. In 1123 the lieutenants of Baldwin, who was then a prisoner in the hands of the Infidels, made a compact with the Venetians that, of the cities taken with their assistance, a third should be theirs. The Venetians, very shortly after, landed their men, fought with valour, and obtained much profit.

All this gave a wonderful impulse to the trade of the Italian Communes, which, unfortunately, at the same period began their continual feuds and rivalries —the cause of much disorder and calamity. The constitutional forms which the Communes adopted were many, but they always approached the same type, though varying according to the very different conditions under which they had arisen. The class which grew day by day in numbers and energy was that of the trading burghers, whose ranks were gradually joined by the lesser nobility living within the city walls. They also now began to engage in commerce. This united body of citizens, who soon found themselves involved in bitter struggles with the greater nobles, as a rule residing in the country, constituted the first nucleus of the Commune, at whose head were

the Consuls and a Council which discussed all important affairs. On great occasions, especially when a declaration of war was in question, the whole of the population assembled in a Parliament, which was called "Arengo." From the first Council, known as the greater or major, a minor Council (called also *di credenza*, and which was a species of Senate), subsequently detached itself. This minor Council managed such affairs as needed to be discussed with some reserve, or which required to be drafted for wider discussion in the major Council, which the minor Council then joined before the vote, thus forming a single assembly. We have already described the earliest political form of the Venetian Republic. At Genoa the combination, of which we have already given a sketch, formed between nobles and burghers for the protection of trade and for defence against external enemies—more especially the Saracens—took the name of "Compagna," and was the germ of the Commune. At its head were, as usual, the Consuls, and of these the Annals soon give us a continuous catalogue, beginning with the year 1099.

At Pisa the "Concordia" of Bishop Daiberto, which dates from 1090, or a little before, mentions a "Commune Colloquium Civitatis," composed of "Boni homines vel Sapientes," which would seem to be already a Parliament and major Council. Further mention is made of five "Sapientes," whose names are given and who sit with Bishop Daiberto. These five can be looked upon as the precursors of the Consuls who, shortly after, in 1094, emerge quite distinctly and to whose authority the Bishop himself appeals in another "Concordia." This first Communal nucleus breaks up later on into a series of art and trade guilds, bound together in a federation and into armed com-

panies, as was the case in Bologna, Milan, Florence, and, to a greater or less degree, everywhere else.

Even in Rome, as we have already observed, the Commune took form at an early date. But it developed under circumstances so radically different that, of necessity, its character was modified. The Eternal City stood in the midst of a deserted Campagna—a fact of itself unfavourable to the growth of that trade and industry which were the life of other Communes. The continued presence of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Curia, and the frequent sojourns of the Emperor, who also exercised authority there, created absolutely special conditions. Added to this there was a powerful and arrogant aristocracy, composed of heterogeneous elements, secular and ecclesiastical, which were continually in strife with one another. The Roman Commune, moreover, cherished an unquenchable hatred for the neighbouring small town of Tivoli, which enjoyed a certain autonomy intolerable to the Romans; and this hatred was the cause of an unexpected revolution. In 1141, after repulsing a first assault, Tivoli was forced to submit. The town, however, capitulated to the Pope and not to the Roman people, whose supremacy it refused to recognise. Rome, by then formally constituted as a Commune, had an army divided into twelve *Scholæ*, according to the number of its civic divisions, which, at times, reached to fourteen. The *Scholæ* were commanded by an equal number of standard-bearers (*Banderesi*), who corresponded to the *Gonfalonieri* of Florence. The nobles were at the head of the Commune and of the army, and were broken up into parties, each of which strove to increase its influence by the help of the people; and thus, without realising what they were doing, they strengthened the people at

their own expense. Furthermore, the lesser nobility, detaching itself from the greater, made common cause with the people, who thus eventually, in Rome as elsewhere, became the masters of the city.

And now the Romans, all of one mind, wished to raze the walls of Tivoli and drive its population into exile. But Pope Innocent II. opposed them, and a revolution broke out in 1143. The Capitol was attacked and a new form of Republic, which reconstituted a Senate composed of lesser nobles and burghers, was proclaimed. In this manner the power of the great nobles, who until then had ruled Rome, was demolished. Innocent, who had vainly endeavoured to oppose all these changes, died on the 24th of September, 1143, and after the brief reign of Celestinus II., which lasted only a few months, was succeeded by Lucius II. (1144–1145), who proposed to unite with the nobles against the people. But, upon this, the latter rose again in still greater fury, and placed Jordan, a member of the Pierleoni family, who, although a patrician, had embraced the popular cause, at the head of the Commune, and conferred upon him also the judicial powers formerly exercised by the Prefect, whose office the new Constitution abolished. The Pope was then forced to give up the insignia of royalty, to renounce temporal power, and to live upon the tithes and the offerings of the faithful, in accordance with the rules laid down by Paschal II., which now found many partisans.

The newly constituted Republic was headed by a magistracy which, at different times, was known under the different titles of Consuls, *Banderesi*, and, later, Senators, and its number varied also. The Senate was equivalent to the major Council of other Communes, and within it was formed a commission of

Senatores Consiliarii, which corresponded to the minor Council. The new Republic coined its own money and dated its Acts from the year of its Constitution. The Imperial authority was explicitly recognised ; but the Pope's had been too grievously insulted for him to resign himself to the position assigned to him. Having put himself at the head of the nobles, Lucius II. assaulted the Capitol, and, in the *mêlée* which followed, received a blow on the head from a stone, which, according to some writers, was the cause of his death on the 15th of February, 1145. On the same day Eugenius III. was elected Pope. He was, however, forced to fly from Rome on account of the fierce opposition he encountered from the Senators, who wished to prevent his consecration, which, in fact, did not take place till the 18th of February, in the abbey of Farfa.

It was generally affirmed that this revolution was the work of Arnold of Brescia. But he was not in Rome till 1145, while the movement began at the end of 1143. It was, undoubtedly, the outcome of the great Communal movement which had for some time shown itself over the whole of Northern and Central Italy, and also of the aversion to the exercise of temporal power by the Popes, which was spreading day by day.

Arnold, born at Brescia at the beginning of the twelfth century, had been, in France, a disciple of Peter Abélard, who, while teaching him theology and philosophical inquiry, had imbued him with a spirit of intellectual independence and a great admiration for classical studies and for ancient Rome. All this had gone far to stimulate in the young Brescian the ardent love of liberty which was his by nature. On returning to his native land he became a monk and threw himself with ardour

into the political struggles of his Commune, while at the same time he preached with impetuous eloquence, reinforced by doctrinal arguments, against the temporal power of the Pope. The arguments which he expounded from the depth of his own convictions inflamed his hearers, and, becoming widely diffused, penetrated into Rome itself, where they found congenial soil, and where, it may therefore be said, Arnold was present in spirit before he appeared in person. The very fact that Innocent II., as we have already noted, in the Lateran Council of 1139, condemned his teaching as dangerous to the Church and imposed upon him the duty of silence, proves it. In Brescia a feeling of political reaction against his revolutionary spirit began to manifest itself, and became so strong that he was obliged to leave the town and return to France, where he found himself, at once, in the midst of fresh troubles. Arnold always remained firm, and never deviated from his opinion that, so long as the Pope and the Bishops continued in a mode of life which was contrary to the Evangelical precept of poverty, rebellion to them was a duty and they should be combated without hesitation. This opinion was sufficient to raise up enemies for him wherever he went. Moreover, in France, he found his master, Abélard, now fiercely opposed by St. Bernard, on account of his philosophico-religious ideas. With his habitual impetuosity, he at once embraced Abélard's cause, with the result that the ardent, menacing eloquence of the Saint was also directed against him. "Arnold," said St. Bernard, "neither eats nor drinks, nor sleeps, nor hungers, but, in the devil's company, he thirsts only for the blood of souls." But in truth Arnold's life was

of the purest, and the sincerity and firmness of his character were absolute. Thus it came about that when Abélard was forced into submission, Arnold alone remained firm and intrepid in resistance, continuing to defend him with such audacious pertinacity that he was at last driven out of France and had to return to Italy.

In 1142 we find him wandering through Switzerland, and, at a later date, finally in Rome, where he came to give definite form to that revolution which, as we have said, was the outcome of his teaching. He wished to reconstitute the ancient Senatorial and Equestrian orders ; to fortify the Capitol and to make the Republic more democratic. And the Roman people, dominated by his eloquence, followed his lead with blind enthusiasm. Many too of the neighbouring towns, drawn into the current, sought to imitate the example of Rome. Pope Eugenius III. (1145–1153) who, after succeeding Lucius II., had been forced to quit the city, now returned to its vicinity. Although accompanied by sufficient forces, he preferred to come to an agreement, which was in fact concluded, though not destined to last for long. At all events the new Pope recognised the new Constitution, and, shortly before Christmas, 1145, he entered Rome. The Senators were to receive their nomination to office from him, and a Prefect was again appointed. The truce, however, as we have said, proved ephemeral. Eugenius III. was again compelled to fly, and in 1147 we find him in France preaching the Second Crusade. After the success of the first, the state of affairs in the East had changed and the Mahometans were again gaining ground. St. Bernard seconded the Pope and, by his eloquence, inflamed his hearers in the cause of the Holy War,

even inducing the Emperor Conrad III. to depart for the East; and his absence was another blow to the Pope's authority in Rome, where the people pushed their revolutionary acts still further. After a fresh insurrection they fell upon Tivoli, dismantled its walls and drove out a great number of its inhabitants. Thus when Eugenius III. returned to Italy in 1143 he saw that hesitation was no longer possible. He therefore solemnly excommunicated Arnold, who had become the soul of the revolution and the author of increasingly democratic regulations, and he especially prohibited the clergy from having any dealings with him. This act of the Pope's created an extraordinary impression, terrified the people, and, in consequence, caused the Romans to appeal for help to the Emperor Conrad III., who had by that time returned from the Crusade. They sent formal ambassadors to him bearing a letter which contains the strangest medley of classical and mediæval, sacred and profane expressions, and in which the sentiments and ideas aroused by the preaching of Arnold are most faithfully reproduced.

"Rome," they wrote in the name of the Senate and the people, "is the source of that Empire which God has entrusted to thee and which we wish to see restored to the splendour and power which it enjoyed under Constantine and Justinian. For this purpose we have dismantled the castles of the nobles, who, together with the Pope and the Normans, wished to rebel against thee. Remember all that the Popes have done to damage the Empire, and decide to come amongst us here in Rome, the head of the world, whence thou shalt safely govern the lands of Germany and Italy."

Although Conrad was no friend to the Pope, still he

could certainly not side with the rebels and undertake their defence. He therefore gave them no answer, and, when the Romans repeated their invitation, sent a letter which, however, he did not address to the new Senate, holding it to be too democratic for him to recognise, but to the Prefect, the Consuls, and the Captains of the people. In this letter he simply says he will come "to re-establish order, to confirm his friends in their faith, and to punish rebels." Such words left very little hope to the Republic. Conrad had, in fact, already decided not to go to Rome until he had come to an understanding with the Pope. But, before he could undertake the journey he died on the 15th of February, 1152, and was never crowned Emperor. His successor was a man of very different character, who was destined to become one of the greatest figures in mediæval history.

With Conrad the House of Hohenstaufen, to which the Popes were antagonistic, had risen to power. At his death he left a son eight years of age. Realising the difficulties which the perturbed condition of Germany was then causing, Conrad himself advised the electors rather to choose his nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, as his successor, and, in fact, the latter was elected King of the Romans on the 4th of March, 1152, under the name of Frederick I., nicknamed Barbarossa from the colour of his beard. Germany was then awakening to new life: her commercial cities were becoming prosperous, literature flourished, and the country was conscious of power. Her new King, audacious, ambitious, and intelligent, proposed to reconstitute the Empire and to commence the task by the re-establishment of its authority in Italy. To him also there came letters from the Romans which spoke to him of the ancient glory of

Rome, the seat of that Empire which emanated from the Roman people. But Frederick, a practical man concerned with the realities of the present and caring little for classical reminiscences, answered them in the following words: "My Empire was formed by the arms of the Franks, from whom I have received it by inheritance. Let who will attempt to deprive Hercules of his Club." He intended to subjugate all audacious Communes and more especially the Roman. To this end he relied above all upon his own forces, but he also counted upon assistance from the Papal authority. He therefore entered into an agreement with the Pope in which he promised to leave no peace to the Romans until he should have forced them into submission to the Empire and to the Church, whose temporal power he also proposed to restore. The Pope, for his part, promised to crown him Emperor.

Arnold upon this felt himself freed from the promise of moderation which, it would appear, he had made to the Pope, and continued, without further hesitation, in the course of reform he had initiated. A new Republican Constitution, tending still more towards an imitation of the ancient Roman model and even more democratic than its predecessor, followed. Until then the Senate appears to have been formed of 56 members, that is to say, 4 for each division of the city, supposing their number to have been raised to 14 by inclusion of the Island and of Trastevere. Now the number of Senators was raised to 100, headed by two Consuls, according to the old Roman precedent: one Consul having the charge of internal affairs and the other of external. Pope Eugenius was naturally much irritated by all this, and, in September, 1152, he wrote a letter to Abbot Wibald of Corvey, who was then at

the Court of Frederick I., in which he spoke of the revolution in Rome as the work of Arnold and of a mob of about 2,000 plebeian conspirators, adding that not one single Roman noble had taken part in it. He also asserted, to irritate him still further, that the Romans presumptuously proposed to elect their Emperor for themselves.

The state of affairs took a more decided turn when, Pope Eugenius having died (July 8, 1153) and being quickly followed to the grave by his successor Anastatius IV., Hadrian IV., an energetic Englishman, ascended the throne of St. Peter on the 4th of December, 1154, with the deliberate intention of putting an end to Arnold's proceedings. Undaunted by this, Arnold continued to preach against the Papacy with ever-increasing ardour and impetuosity. Moreover, at this moment, a Cardinal was assaulted and wounded in the public street. This act of aggression was attributed to the followers of Arnold, though some said that it was the result of a studied provocation. But Hadrian, who was determined to bring matters to a head, placed the city of Rome itself under Interdict—a measure unheard of until then. The impression produced was enormous. All religious functions, with the exception of baptism and the administration of the sacraments to the dying, were suspended. The dead could not be buried in consecrated soil, and marriages could only be blessed in cemeteries. The general terror was such that the very Senators, none of whom belonged to the old nobility nor possessed its courage, ended by imploring the Pope's forgiveness. And Hadrian promised to withdraw the Interdict on condition that Arnold were driven from Rome. Upon this Arnold, finding himself deserted by all his followers, decided to depart.

This man, who for nine years had preached liberty, who had been the inspiring spirit of the revolution and the idol of the people, was now forced to wander from castle to castle seeking refuge with some protector or in some free country, where he could be safe from the ire of the English Pope. Hadrian, until then confined to Trastevere, was now able to enter the Lateran, almost in triumph, amidst rejoicing and processions. And, in the meanwhile, Frederick, reeking, as we shall soon relate, with the blood he had shed in subjugating the free towns of Lombardy, was advancing with his army upon Rome. The Pope sent three Cardinals to meet him, with the request that he would seize Arnold, who had taken refuge in a castle said to belong to the Viscounts of Campagnatico, and deliver him up. And Frederick caused one of these Viscounts to be taken as a hostage, nor did he release him until he had obtained possession of Arnold, whom he then handed over to the Papal Legates. By them the prisoner was consigned to the Prefect, a member of the Vico family, in later times hereditary Prefects of Rome and Counts of Viterbo. The Prefect condemned Arnold to be hanged: his body was then burned and his ashes cast into the Tiber. The execution took place in June, 1155. The exact day and place are unknown to us, but we know that he maintained his serenity till the end, declaring that he met death in the cause of justice and liberty.

The Romans, however, although they had sacrificed Arnold to the Pope, had not the least intention of sacrificing the Republic. They again sent ambassadors to Frederick, charged to repeat the usual rhetorical and inflated phrases about the rights of

Rome and of the Roman people which alone could elect him Emperor. Not one word did they say about Arnold, who, just then, had been or was about to be executed. Frederick paid no attention whatever to their speeches and dismissed them with disdain. Marching forward at the head of his troops, he entered Trastevere, and on the 18th of June, 1155, was crowned by the Pope in St. Peter's. On this occasion no pretence of asking the people's consent was made, and the popular irritation was so great that an armed attack upon the Leonine city, the Vatican, and the Imperial camp was the result. Along the Tiber and on the bridge of St. Angelo a bloody battle ensued which lasted until nightfall. In it the equestrian order, instituted by Arnold after the fashion of ancient Rome, showed itself worthy of its name. About 1,000 Romans perished by the sword or were drowned; a still larger number were wounded and 200 made prisoners. In spite of this, the Romans were preparing with so much ardour to recommence hostilities on the following day that Frederick, almost as a fugitive, marched away on the 19th, accompanied by the Pope and the Cardinals, who separated from him at Tivoli. And yet temporal power was not restored and the Republic still subsisted under the form which Arnold had given to it.

The result of these events, at least with regard to the relations between Pope and Emperor, was very different from what might have been anticipated. Frederick's aim was to become master in Rome and keep the Bishops in dependence on himself. This was bound to reawaken the question of investitures, and it would have been more politic on his part to have opposed the Republic less violently, for he

could have made use of it in the struggle which was inevitable between him and the Pope. But it would seem that he did not clearly realise the state of affairs. Hadrian, instead, proved more foreseeing, and was already preparing to face future storms. In Southern Italy he granted investiture to King William I., son of Roger II., whose death had taken place in 1154. This was an act of hostility towards Frederick, whom, in fact, it greatly annoyed. In Rome the Pope allied himself to the nobles against the popular party, and, furthermore, in Northern Italy he became the ally of the Communes against the Empire, and encouraged them to carry on the glorious resistance which they had already begun. This policy was bound to lead to grave and inevitable consequences. But on the 1st of September, 1159, Hadrian IV. died at Anagni.

STATUE OF FREDERICK I. IN THE CLOISTERS OF S. ZENO, NEAR REICHENHALL, BAVARIA.

To face p. 221.

CHAPTER X

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA—THE LOMBARD LEAGUE AND THE PEACE OF CONSTANCE

(1154–1183)

The struggle between Frederick I. and Hadrian IV. had begun some time before and, of necessity, became more and more bitter. The Pope needed the Emperor for his own protection and the Emperor needed the Pope's support to free him from the opposition of the Church. But Frederick wished to consolidate the Imperial authority over all men, while Hadrian, on the contrary, wished to consolidate the ecclesiastical authority. And therefore, although at first they were able to agree and appeared to have sealed their compact by the execution of Arnold of Brescia, it soon became evident that conflict between them was unavoidable. It is certain that, however great the power of the Pope in Italy and in Germany, Frederick was the stronger, and, by means of his armies, could obtain the mastery. But in Italy he had to encounter formidable obstacles. There was the Sicilian Monarchy, which under Roger II. and William I. had become one of the strongest and best administered of existing kingdoms, exercising great

influence not only in the West but also in the East. It had to be reckoned with. Leaving aside the difficulties which the condition of Germany presented, Frederick's most dangerous enemies in Italy were the Communes, which, as their vigour and wealth augmented, had possessed themselves of prerogatives formerly exercised by the Empire, and had begun to appropriate feudal lands and feudal rights. In the eyes of Otho of Friesing, Frederick's uncle and the historian of his reign, Italy appeared an extraordinary country where the natural order of the world was upside down. In comparison with Germany, he found her strangely democratic. "Italy," he writes, "is divided into cities, which presume to rule their territories, which they call counties, and they are so jealous of their liberties that they would obey the Consuls, whom they elect for themselves, rather than those who exercise Imperial authority. To obtain greater strength they raise to military dignity and to the rank of officials even common artisans who everywhere else are despised." Frederick naturally desired to put an end to a state of affairs which to him appeared abnormal, and to re-establish in its place Imperial and feudal rights. He did not understand that a new social order had arisen in Italy to which the old laws could not be applied. The question was no longer simply legal, but essentially political, and had grown to such proportions that, unfortunately, it could now be settled only by force of arms.

During his first visit to Italy in 1154 he held a Diet at Roncaglia on the Po, near Piacenza, which was attended by the Consuls of many cities as well as by the greater feudatories, both lay and ecclesiastical; and all, to a greater and lesser degree, made act of homage to him. On that occasion he

published laws concerning feudal holdings, of which he forbade the cession and division, and he demanded the restitution to the Empire of the usurped prerogatives. All this was naturally directed against the Communes which had constituted themselves by degrees at the expense of the Imperial and feudal rights. He certainly might easily deceive himself as to the nature of the obstacles which he had to surmount, for discord reigned among the Italian Communes, and many of them asked help from him against Milan, which was the strongest and constantly extending its power to the detriment of the others. The Italian Commune was so constituted that, in the case of one being aggregated to another, the weaker was totally excluded from political life and liberty and from any degree of autonomy, which were held to be the privileges of the dominant city alone. Therefore the extension of one Commune meant the ruin of such of its neighbours as were absorbed by it. These causes, together with commercial rivalry, inevitably brought about that fierce antagonism which turned to the advantage of the Emperor, and gave him partisans in not a few of these same Communes. But it was easy to foresee that, were the Imperial pretensions to prove dangerous to all alike, the Communes would then be driven into an alliance for the defence of their rights and interests. And this is, in fact, what occurred.

Frederick commenced his operations by attacking the friends of Milan, and after having obtained the mastery over the weaker among them, laid siege to Tortona, which bravely resisted for two months, after which it was forced to capitulate and was demolished. The Emperor at that time did not dare to attack Milan. He confined himself to pronouncing the city

an outlaw of the Empire, and deprived it of many prerogatives. On the 17th of April, 1155, at Monza, the Iron crown was placed on his head. He then proceeded to Rome, where, after the tragic end of Arnold, he was crowned Emperor. His coronation was followed, as we have already related, by that bloody battle which compelled him to leave the city almost as a fugitive.

No sooner had the Emperor returned to Germany than Milan commenced to rebuild Tortona, and Frederick, occupied as he was in his own country, was unable to cross the Alps again and curb the pride of the rebellious city. Meanwhile his relations with the Pope were becoming always more embittered. Frederick forced the ecclesiastics to receive investiture from him alone, and Pope Hadrian could not and would not tolerate this. He made bitter complaint on the subject in a letter which Cardinal Bandinelli presented to the Diet of Besançon in 1157. In this letter the Pope, referring to the coronation, said to Frederick that he then granted him the "Beneficium" of the Empire. The inference of vassalage which such wording contained aroused at once such a storm that Hadrian was forced almost to withdraw it, declaring that it had been used in its ordinary sense without the slightest allusion to its feudal significance. The importance assumed by this controversy, which might be considered a mere verbal quibble, shows how great was the tension of men's minds and what difficulties lay in the future.

The Milanese continued to build Tortona while the Emperor was detained in Germany and unable to return to Italy. It was only in July, 1158, that he moved southwards, accompanied this time by many Italian lords and by some legal experts, so that the judicial

questions which had arisen between the Communes and the Empire might be authoritatively discussed. This time he came at the head of a strong army, in which, besides Germans, were many citizens of such Communes as were friendly to the Empire, especially of those near Milan which most feared her preponderance. It thus came about that while Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Parma, and Modena were on one side, Pavia, Como, Lodi, and Cremona were on the other. Frederick, after a short struggle at Brescia, marched on the outlawed city of Milan, which, after a valiant defence, was forced to capitulate.

The conditions were naturally made very hard, although both sides alike were tired of war and desirous of peace. Como and Lodi, Milan's two most implacable enemies, were assured of their liberties and independence. Milan was condemned to restore to the Empire all the rights it had usurped —coinage, douane, river duties, &c. The Consuls, elected by the people, must henceforth receive the sanction of the Emperor, to whom the city was to pay a fine of 9,000 silver marks and hand over 300 hostages. All citizens between the ages of fourteen and seventy were compelled not only to swear fealty to the Emperor but to march past him with a rope round their necks. The twelve Consuls, headed by the Archbishop, had to present themselves barefoot, with their swords suspended to their necks and then to surrender the swords to him. This capitulation, concluded on the 7th of September, 1158, although extremely humiliating for the Milanese, left them still substantially in possession of a certain degree of autonomy and freedom. It now remained to settle definitely and legally the relations between the Communes and the Empire.

For this purpose Frederick I. convoked a new Diet at Roncaglia, on the 11th of November, which was attended by the Consuls of the cities, many secular and ecclesiastical nobles, and four professors of law from the Bologna University—Bulgar, Martin, James, and Hugh—with other legal experts. The outcome of the deliberations on this solemn occasion was that the prerogatives belonged to the Emperor as supreme authority, true representative and first source of all law, and were to be restored to him. The Emperor might, however, concede them to whom he pleased, and those who could prove to have received such concessions in the past might continue to enjoy them. Furthermore, the sale or alienation of fiefs, or portions of fiefs, was prohibited. The Marquisates were declared indivisible, and this feudal constitution, which was substantially but a repetition of that preceding it, which had been proclaimed on the 5th of December, 1154, was wholly directed against the Communes, which had formed themselves by usurping prerogatives and fighting for feudal rights. It was, moreover, decided that the subjects of the Empire must live at peace with each other and not presume to settle their disputes for themselves: they were to apply in all cases to legally appointed magistrates. On this occasion too it was reaffirmed that the popularly elected Consuls must receive recognition by the Emperor.

The work then done by the professors and jurists of Bologna has since been very variously estimated. It was said that, owing to their desire to remain loyal to Roman law, they had attributed exaggerated power to the Emperor, thereby harming Communal liberty, which they betrayed. But, as Savigny justly remarks, this criticism has no foundation. According to Roman

law, bridges, rivers, ports, &c., did not constitute prerogatives, but were public property, while counties, Marquisates, and fiefs in general did not exist. The Imperial investiture of municipal magistrates is contrary to Roman law, which recognises the principle of election, and would therefore, in this case, have been favourable to the Communes. But the fact was that they had usurped rights which were not founded on mediæval law, and therefore the experts were bound, according to the ideas of the times, to give judgment in the Emperor's favour as they actually did. But on the other hand, the Communes had arisen, they existed in fact, and it was necessary to recognise them, for they had originated a new form of society with new rights. The question was not simply juridic, but, as we have said, essentially political and historical. Frederick, who recognised this fact, and frequently made new concessions to such Communes as were friendly to him, would have been wiser had he insisted less on his rights and made it more evident that a new world and a new form of society had come into being which the old juridic rules no longer fitted.

Thus it happened that when the time came to put the deliberations of Roncaglia into practice, Milan, Genoa, Brescia, Piacenza, Verona, and Cremona resisted them. On the other hand, the cities which were faithful to the Empire, especially those which by its help had been freed from their submission to larger Communes, accepted the new laws and profited by the concessions which the Emperor granted to them. Frederick, furthermore, sent envoys to impose a *Podestà*, or chief magistrate, of his choosing upon various Italian cities. These were magistrates who had already made their appearance in Italian Com-

munes, where their presence was a guarantee of greater unity and of justice, administered possibly without regard to party. But now, although the name remained the same, it was a question of imposing an Imperial magistrate upon the Commune, and therefore many resisted it. The whole question had become one which armed force alone could solve. The Imperial army, in fact, now attacked Cremona, which was compelled to surrender unconditionally, on the 26th of January, 1160, after heroically sustaining six months of siege. The town was destroyed and its walls razed.

While this was happening Milan and its allies came to an understanding with Hadrian IV., who encouraged them to resist, and had himself formed an alliance with the King of Sicily and also with Constantinople for defence against Frederick's ever-increasing pretensions. But the Pope died suddenly on the 1st of September, 1159, and on the 7th his successor, Alexander III., was elected. He was that same Cardinal Roland Bandinelli who had been the bearer of the Pontifical letter delivered to Frederick at Besançon, in which the Empire had been spoken of as a "Beneficium," and which had so offended the Emperor and the magnates that the latter had been on the point of drawing their swords in protest. His election thus became the cause of much rioting. Frederick's partisans in Rome rebelled violently and elected another Pope, Victor IV., who at once entered the Lateran. With much difficulty Alexander managed to escape with his life, and only on the 20th of September was he finally consecrated at Ninfa. Without hesitation he declared himself on the side of the Communes in their struggle with Frederick. Frederick retaliated by calling a Council at Pavia, in

which, following the examples of Constantine, Justinian, and Charlemagne, he caused Victor IV. to be recognised as Pope. But Alexander III., strong in the recognition of the majority of the Catholic world, denied the Emperor's right to hold a Council, and excommunicated him together with his Pope, or rather Antipope. Still, in spite of this, the animosity which the Emperor was able to excite against Alexander in Rome was such that the latter was again forced to fly and take refuge in France.

In the spring of 1161 Frederick renewed hostilities against Milan, and, after having put the surrounding territory to the sack and induced some of Milan's former subjects to rebel, attacked the city. In spite of a most heroic resistance, Milan was reduced to such extremities that she was forced to capitulate at the commencement of 1162. The city walls were pulled down, the moat was filled up, many houses were demolished, and part of the population was compelled to wander forth and seek shelter in the neighbouring towns and villages. Sad to say, the Italians who fought on the Imperial side in this cruel war proved themselves not less thirsty for vengeance than the foreigners. Milan, after undergoing all this suffering, was forced to submit to an Imperial *Podestà*. Many concessions were granted to and many privileges were conferred on the Communes who had espoused the Imperial cause. Pisa and Genoa were especially favoured; for Frederick needed their fleets to enable him to undertake the expedition which he meditated, emboldened as he now was by his recent triumphs against Southern Italy, with the object of extending Imperial authority over the whole Peninsula. In the autumn of 1163, on leaving Burgundy, he entered Italy for the third time, with hardly any troops, for,

now that Milan was reduced to a helpless condition, he felt that his authority was established. But in this he was deceived. The strength and audacity of the Communes, instead of diminishing, was increasing. The concessions made to those which had been on his side had aroused in all the wish to obtain more of the same sort, either by peaceful means or by force, and Pope Alexander, Frederick's bitter enemy, excited them to the struggle and gave them the support of his spiritual authority. In 1164 the Antipope Victor died, and the Imperial party elected Paschal III. This highly incensed Alexander III., and in November, 1165, he returned to Rome at the invitation of the Romans, who now favoured him. The Lombard cities regained courage. Milan rebuilt its walls and declared itself ready to recommence the struggle. Other Communes did the same. In 1164 Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Venice had formed a defensive league against the Emperor, who sought in vain to separate them. He then realised that he must call together a fresh army, and for this purpose he returned to Germany.

He was met there, too, by serious difficulties, for the Antipope, Paschal III., who should have been Frederick's supporter, appears to have been looked upon with disfavour by the Germans. Nevertheless, in the autumn of 1166 Frederick made his fourth descent into Italy at the head of a new army, and marched upon Ancona, an important strategic position. His intention was to make himself master of Ancona and proceed thence, with greater safety, to Rome, whence his enemies received the greatest encouragement. There he hoped to depose Alexander and install Paschal; but all this was not so easy as he imagined.

Ancona was a fortified town, and, having recently placed itself under the protection of the Byzantines, then the masters of the sea, could count on their support. It could also hope for help from the Normans, who were the allies of the Pope against Frederick. On this account Ancona offered a stout resistance and sustained a close siege for three weeks before coming to terms with the Emperor and consenting to recognise his authority. He was now free to advance on Rome—a move which had become imperative. Already, in the spring of 1167, he had sent Archbishop Raynald, of Cologne, with some troops towards Rome, which was then at war with Albano and with her eternal enemy Tusculum. Raynald marched to the assistance of these towns, but his men were insufficient until reinforced by those of Christian of Mayence, another military prelate. Together they defeated the Romans (whose army was far more numerous) on the 29th of May, 1167. Still they were far from being able to enter the Eternal City. Pope Alexander, too, had requested aid from the Regent of Sicily, and had received a favourable reply.

The Imperialists therefore anxiously awaited Frederick's arrival, and he, having left Ancona, marched towards Rome, which he reached on the 22nd of July. After a bloody engagement he entered the Leonine city, but could not cross the Tiber. On the right bank of the river the Castle of St. Angelo continued to resist him, and fighting took place even within the church of St. Peter, which the Emperor finally occupied. It thus became possible to install Pope Paschal III., who then placed the crown on the head of the Empress. On this occasion Frederick, who had already been

crowned by Hadrian IV. in 1155, also wore his crown. It seemed at that moment that his victory was complete, and that he had finally triumphed over the Pope. But suddenly Alexander vanished from Rome. Search was made for him by the Pisan galleys, which had sailed up the Tiber on the chance that he might seek to escape in that direction, but he could not be found. The Pisans and Genoese, as we have already noted, were, for political and commercial reasons, bitterly adverse to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and favourable to the Emperor. But Frederick, at the very moment of his apparent victory, found himself beset by difficulties. It was the month of August, the feverish season in the Roman Campagna, and an epidemic broke out in the army and decimated it. On the 6th Frederick hastened away in the company of the Antipope Paschal, and followed by his troops, among whom fever still raged. Not only did a large number of soldiers die, but also many of the principal generals, and among them Raynald of Cologne, who had rendered such great services to the Empire. He was replaced by Christian of Mayence, who, as we have already noted, was far more of a soldier than a prelate, and who, moreover, lived in camp surrounded by a number of women—in fact, by a sort of harem. He, too, had rendered valuable service to the Empire, especially in Tuscany. Frederick, much annoyed by the disasters he had encountered, but in nowise discouraged, now returned to Germany with the firm intention of renewing the Italian campaign under more propitious conditions.

While Frederick was meeting with so much trouble, the Communes of Northern Italy, as was to be

expected, regained courage, especially now that they felt secure of the Pope's favour and of that of the Sicilian Court. Already, during the spring of 1167, the cities of Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Brescia, and Ferrara, following the example of the League of Verona, and in agreement with it, formed a new League for mutual defence, "Salva tamen Imperatoris fidelitate." This clause confirms the belief that, theoretically at least, the Communes recognised the Imperial authority, even when allying themselves against it. And the fact that the League was extending, and even included a Commune such as Cremona, which had been allied to the Emperor, proves that it was assuming a more general national character. Lodi, which remained faithful to the Empire, was compelled by force to join the new League. The immediate consequence of this was that the militia of the allied cities repaired to Milan, and, amidst great enthusiasm, commenced the reconstruction of its walls, moats, and houses, so that it should again be in a condition to offer valid resistance. And the valiant city, intolerant of the oppressive rule of the Imperial *Podestà*, the Count of Diez, was impatient to rebel and to begin the war again. It thus came about quite naturally that a new and more general League, embracing almost all the principal cities of Northern Italy, was formed. It was promoted by Archbishop Galdino, the Pope's Legate, and was sworn to on the 1st of December, 1167, by no less than sixteen cities,[1] which bound themselves for mutual offence and defence against whosoever should attack them.

[1] Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, Brescia, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Mantua, Modena, Bologna, Bergamo, &c.

The first result of the formation of the Lombard League was that, Frederick being no longer in Italy, it began to make war on the Communes and others who were still faithful to the Empire—such as the city of Pavia and the Marquis of Monferrat. In order to weaken them, the League decided to build a new city at the confluence of the Tanaro and Bormida rivers—a strategic position of much importance.

In the spring of 1168 the work was commenced with much ardour, and was rapidly carried on. In the Pope's honour the new city was named Alexandria, to which the adverse party added the derisive qualification *della paglia* (of straw), because, in the hurry to complete it, its houses had been thatched. It was populated from the neighbouring towns, and was soon able to furnish 1,500 men-at-arms. It placed itself under the Pope's protection and paid him tribute. Meanwhile the number of the allied cities continued to increase, and on the 3rd of May, 1168, a new treaty was signed between Marquis Obizzo Malaspina and seventeen cities, many of which had already appeared in the League of the 1st of December, 1167. It is remarkable that among the new names we find Como, formerly so bitter against Milan and so warm a partisan of the Empire.

The news of this soon spread all over Italy, inspiring the confederates with still greater confidence. They continued to enjoy the encouragement and benediction of the Pope and the favour of the Norman monarchy, always most powerful and always the natural foe of the Empire. Thus was the way being prepared for a formidable struggle which would be for life or death.

Finally, during the last days of September, 1174,

and after a long period of preparation, Frederick appeared for the fifth time in Italy at the head of a great army. His first move was to lay siege to Alexandria, which, with the help of the confederates and under the command of the brave *Podestà* Rudolf Concesi, resisted heroically from the end of October, 1174, till the first days of April, 1175. The defence was such that Frederick at last withdrew to Pavia. Overtures of peace were then made, but, as could easily be foreseen, they came to nothing. Hostilities were still more vigorously renewed. And when Frederick advanced in the hope of surprising the army of the confederates, the latter, without awaiting the reinforcements which were at hand, resolutely confronted him at Legnano on the Olona, a few miles from Milan, where a decisive battle was fought on the 29th of May, 1176. At first it appeared as though the allies must be defeated, but in the end they obtained a memorable victory. The Emperor, throwing himself into the fray, fell with his horse, which was mortally wounded. Losing sight of him, his men believed him to have been killed, and, becoming demoralised, fled precipitately. The rout was such that not only the Emperor's life but the fortunes of the Empire itself were in danger.

Frederick's pride was now indeed humbled, and, sincerely desiring peace, he addressed himself to Pope Alexander III., who treated with him in his own name, in that of the Communes, and of King William II. of Sicily. Negotiations were commenced in October, 1176, at Anagni, where a first agreement was concluded towards the end of the month. Later on, in May, 1177, Pope Alexander, together with the Sicilian plenipotentiaries, repaired to Venice, where the cities of the League, of those which had lately

seceded from it, and of those which had continued faithful to the Empire were also represented. Many Counts, magnates, and dignitaries of the Empire were also present, and among them Christian of Mayence, who represented Frederick until the latter should reach Venice in person. It was easy to come to terms with the Pope, with the exception of certain reservations regarding Countess Matilda's lands. Frederick recognised Alexander, gave up the cause of the Antipope and made act of submission to the Church, which he promised henceforth to defend. Nor was it a difficult matter to come to an understanding with William II., with whom a fifteen years' peace was concluded. It was much more difficult to come to an agreement with the Communes, for the definition of mutual rights and duties was most perplexing. It proved impossible to conclude anything further than a six years' truce, which was to last from the 1st of August, 1177, till the 1st of August, 1183. While the truce endured the Emperor bound himself not to intervene in the disputes of the Communes with one another or with private persons; not to force any layman or ecclesiastic of the League to swear fealty to the Empire, and not to pronounce sentence upon any member of the League for disloyalty or neglect of services. Furthermore, no sentence could be pronounced for neglect of duty in the past. The Communes, for their part, were debarred from any interference whatever in the Emperor's disputes. Frederick finally arrived in Venice on the 24th of July, and solemnly declared that he had deceived himself and had erred in combating the Church, which it was his duty and desire to defend. He was then freed from the sentence of excommuni-

cation which had previously been laid upon him. The Antipope Callixtus III., who, in 1168, had succeeded the Antipope Paschal III., was deposed. Alexander III. was recognised as the sole legitimate Pope, and received the promise that he would be reconducted to Rome. The Papal States were recognised as extending from Ceprano to Acquapendente. Frederick made some reservations as to Countess Matilda's lands, and it was settled that for the next fifteen years he should continue to receive the income derived from them. The Marches of Ancona, Spoleto, and Romagna remained to the Emperor, who, on his part, renounced the Prefecture of Rome as an Imperial office.

Frederick remained in Italy six months longer and then returned to Germany, leaving Christian of Mayence as his Viceroy, whose arms should secure the return of Alexander to Rome. The Roman Republic was forced into submission and the Senators were obliged to swear fealty to the Pope. Nevertheless, in the act of submission itself the Romans obtained an indirect recognition of their Constitution, for the phrase ran thus: "Totius populi romani consilio et deliberatione statutum est," &c. On the 12th of March, 1178, Alexander made his solemn entry into Rome. In the month of March of the following year a Council was held in which 300 Bishops took part, and in it the Schism was declared at an end. Furthermore it was agreed that in future the votes of two-thirds of the Cardinals would be sufficient to ensure the validity of a Papal election. By this rule the elections were thenceforth entrusted to the College of Cardinals. Finally, on the 30th of August, 1181, Alexander III. died, after a reign of twenty-two

years, more than half of which had been spent in exile and eighteen in struggling against schism.

The three Popes who followed him were forced to pass almost the whole of their Pontificates in exile, owing to the popular tumults in Rome. Lucius III. was consecrated at Velletri on the 6th of September, 1181, but no sooner did he enter Rome than he found the people risen and clamouring for war with Tusculum. He was then compelled to seek aid from Christian of Mayence. This general marched at once to his assistance; but in August, 1183, he fell a victim to the fevers of the Campagna, like Raynald of Cologne, who had preceded him to the grave. The Pope then fled for protection to Frederick, who, having returned to Italy, was now at Verona. This was the year in which the truce with the Communes came to an end. Frederick was now sixty-two years old and in the thirty-first year of his stormy reign. He had no wish then to renew the Italian war, in which so much blood had been shed and which had caused him so much grief and humiliation. He therefore decided to conclude a definite peace with the Communes, which was, in fact, signed at Constance, in his presence,[1] on the 25th of June, 1183. And now too the signatories included not only those Communes which had always been inimical to the Empire, but also those which had been, or had since become, friendly towards it. Recently, in fact, from motives of disastrous rivalry, some of the very Communes which had been most hostile to the Empire and had suffered most at its hands, such as Tortona and Cremona, had given it their

[1] The Acts of the Peace of Venice and of the Peace of Constance are to be found in M. G. H., Legum, sect. iv., vol. i. (ed. L. Weiland, 1893), pp. 360–383 and 408–420.

adhesion, and Alexandria, in its desire to please the Emperor, had even offered to change its name for that of Cesarea.

After the Peace of Constance, the Emperor finally forgave the Communes, declaring that he would forget the past; he conceded to them, alike for the cities and for their territories, the royalties from forests, bridges, rivers, &c., which they had enjoyed *ab antiquo*. Furthermore he restored to them the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the right to build walls of defence, to enrol troops, and to elect, among such persons as were faithful to the Empire, their own Consuls, who were to receive investiture from him or from his representatives. Appeal, in cases of a certain gravity, was reserved for the Emperor. All these concessions were intentionally made by Frederick *motu proprio*, and not in consequence of any treaty.

It is certain that many of the clauses advantageous to the Empire were not, in fact, subsequently observed. But Frederick's policy was now a totally different one. In Italy he had become a peaceful sovereign, and by this he had obtained far more than by his former violence. He journeyed through Italy without an army and Milan became his favourite city. He granted it many concessions with regard to royalties, permitted the restoration of Cremona and promised not to enter into league with its enemies, obtaining in return a promise that Milan would remain faithful to the Emperor and support him in his claim to the succession of Countess Matilda. The independence of the Communes was now, in fact, established, although, with the signing of peace, they recognised the Imperial authority.

Two years after the Peace of Constance, on the

25th of November, 1185, Pope Lucius III. died, and Urban III. was consecrated on the 1st of December following. The disputes between the Popes and the Emperor, especially with regard to Matilda's lands, had not ceased. But the news from the East of Saladin's advance, and, above all, of the fall of Jerusalem, which took place on the 2nd of October, 1187, caused great disturbance of mind in Western lands, and awakened the idea of a third Crusade. It was preached with ardour by Pope Clement III., consecrated on the 20th of December, 1187, and Frederick, who now seems to have been filled with care for his soul, decided to take part in it. In the month of May, 1189, he started for the Holy Land, but on the 10th of June, 1190, while crossing the river Selef, in Asia Minor, he was drowned.

Photo] [*Brogi.*

INTERIOR OF THE CAPPELLA PALATINA AT PALERMO.

To face p. 241.

CHAPTER XI

THE NORMAN MONARCHY UNTIL THE DEATH OF WILLIAM II.

(1128–1189)

One of the principal obstacles to the realisation of Imperial schemes in Italy was offered by the Norman Monarchy in the South, which had prospered so marvellously. We must now turn our attention in this direction.

We have already related how Robert Guiscard achieved the conquest of the Continental provinces and how, at the same time, and often with his help, his brother Roger, at the head of an army composed of Normans and Southern Italians, succeeded in wresting Sicily from the Saracens. The struggle was long and very severe, for the Saracens were powerful and brave, and the island, under their rule, had attained to a high degree of civilisation, military strength, and commercial and industrial prosperity. Palermo, with a population which the chroniclers estimate at 300,000, and containing 300 mosques, was then held to be one of the most beautiful cities of the world.

The two Norman brothers, Robert and Roger, were not only valiant captains, but also, and more especially

Roger, eminent statesmen. Roger succeeded in founding a monarchy in Sicily, where the population was composed of races differing in language, customs, laws, religion, and culture. By adopting methods of toleration, almost unknown at that period, he succeeded in giving unity to these divers elements and in forming a rich, varied, and powerful society of really remarkable originality. Greek, Latin, and Arabic, sometimes simultaneously, were employed in public Acts. French, which yet was the native tongue of Robert and Roger, was avoided as a foreign language too evidently recalling the Conquest. A manifest proof of Roger's great capacity is afforded by the fact that after the cessation of the war of conquest, which had lasted for about thirty years, he was able to govern the island for eleven years without having to deal with a single act of rebellion. He left an impress upon the Sicilian Monarchy, even upon its Continental provinces, which it took many years to obliterate.

He was succeeded by his son, Roger II., whose education had been entrusted to eminent men from every part of the world : from the East, from France, England, and Italy. He proved worthy of his father and of the cosmopolitan society which he was called upon to govern. In 1128 he obtained the investiture of Apulia, and assumed the title of King, which was confirmed at Salerno and at Palermo. The new kingdom gave proof of its vitality by expanding to the north coast of Africa, where it made various conquests. Finding himself in conflict with the Eastern Empire, Roger II. took Corfù, defeated Thebes and Corinth, and entered the Bosphorus, where the arrows from his galleys even reached the windows of the Imperial palace. In public Acts

he occasionally assumed the title of "Rogerius Siciliae ac Italiae rex." Under him feudalism was restrained by very severe laws, and the municipalities, although the details of their regulations are very little known to us, appear to have been constituted so as to admit of some participation by the people. From time to time a Parliament was convoked in which secular and ecclesiastical peers took part. The independence of the State with regard to the Church was sufficiently guaranteed (at least on the island) by the Apostolic Legation, conceded by Urban II. to Roger I. The Court, always most tolerant, was frequented by men of all nationalities, to whom important offices were confided. In the administration, in finance, and in the mint, the Saracen element prevailed, and it very soon supplied a large contingent to the army. The heterogeneous appearance of this State must have produced a singular effect. The King, in his quality of Apostolic Legate, assisted at the Catholic functions, wearing a dalmatic embroidered with golden Cufic lettering and bearing the date of the Hegira. In close vicinity were to be seen feudal castles, Greek towns, Mahometan villages, Longobard colonies, and streets occupied by Pisans, Genoese, and Amalfitans. The sound of bells and the psalmody of convents mingled with the chaunt of the muezzin from the minarets calling the faithful to prayer. Among the people the Arab cloak, the Turkish turban jostled with the Norman coat of mail, the long Greek tunic and the short Italian doublet. In the Continental provinces, where the number of Saracens was far smaller and that of the Longobards far larger, feudalism was more general. It would seem that into this strangely mixed population the Saracens, who had learnt from Mahomet that "men are equal as the teeth of a

comb," had infused a sense of civil equality. The great oppression which, during the Middle Ages, was exercised by the upper classes over the lower, was certainly less evident in the Norman Kingdom than elsewhere. The profession of arms, commerce, industry (especially the weaving of silk), and the fine arts flourished. A faithful reflection of this society is rendered by its architecture, which, taking elements from the East and the West, from the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Normans, fused them together with great originality in a multitude of buildings which gradually arose all over the island and the Continental provinces.

Roger II. died on the 27th of February, 1154, and was succeeded by William I., called "the Bad," a prince who has been variously and often very unjustly estimated. He was certainly very unequal: at times energetic and politic, and at times given up to pleasure and dissolute living. It was, above all, the struggle he was forced to sustain with the Barons, especially those of Apulia, that gave him a bad name. To them were allied all his enemies: Hadrian IV., the Emperor of Byzantium, and, above all, Frederick Barbarossa, who, with a view to extending Imperial authority in the South, had formed an alliance also with the Pisans against William. In his difficulty William availed himself of the services of Maione, a man of singular capacity who was said to be the son of an oil merchant of Bari. Maione had already risen to a high position under Roger II., and later he became William's Prime Minister with the title of Admiral—a word derived from the Arabic "Emir," which then had not the meaning it possesses to-day. A real admiral, in the modern sense of the word, was Maione's brother Stephen. Maione was William's

chief adviser during the struggle with the Barons; and this accounts for the hatred they both incurred.

The conflict was very severe, and William lost Apulia, which, assisted by his enemies, rebelled against him. It was therefore necessary to reconquer the province by force of arms, and, in effecting this, William showed all his energy. He drove back the Byzantines, subjugated the rebel feudatories and assailed the Pope in Benevento, where peace was eventually concluded, and where he received investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua. Of this peace Maione took advantage to bring the King and the Pope into still closer relations, seeking thereby to draw them away from Frederick, and to direct them towards what might then have been called a national line of policy. This was a successful move, but unfortunately William (after the manner of the Normans), abused it by punishing his enemies too cruelly and then reverting to his dissolute habits. All this enormously increased the hatred of him and of Maione, but the latter pursued his habitual external and internal policy unmoved. Within the kingdom he sought to weaken the nobles by causing division among them, while, on the other hand, he favoured the people, thus strengthening the Monarchy as a whole. And now it was possible to send a fleet to the East. It sailed through the Ionian and Ægean Seas, burnt Negropont (1157) and other towns, and forced the Emperor Manuel Comnenus to make peace in 1158, and finally to recognise William as King. An expedition to Africa was instead very unsuccessful, for the command had been entrusted to a eunuch who was a Mahometan, and who, as such, could not help showing sympathy for the rebels, who were of his own faith.

Meantime the policy of the Sicilian Court in Italy increased in its animosity towards the Empire. It favoured the election of Alexander III. (1159), and, in agreement with him, seconded the rebellious Communes.

The effect of this was that Frederick Barbarossa, always more menaced after the destruction of Milan, entered into an alliance with the Genoese and Pisans and granted many advantageous concessions to their trade in the hope of obtaining the help of their fleets against Sicily. This encouraged the feudal party in the island. It rose, massacred many of the Saracens who, in the army, were the most faithful adherents of the Monarchy, murdered Maione and made a prisoner of King William himself. But the people, in their turn, rose and liberated William, who then took bitter vengeance upon his enemies. He died on the 15th of May, 1166, at the age of forty-six, after a reign of fifteen years.

He was succeeded by his son, William II., born in 1153, and therefore still a minor. The Regency was assumed by his mother, Queen Margaret, who had caused her son to be recognised by a Parliament convoked for that purpose. She was supported at her Court by many eminent personages from various parts. Chief among her counsellors was Matthew of Aiello, a Salernitan jurist who had been Maione's comrade and had been protected by him. Maione was accused by his enemies of having been the Queen's lover, and it is a fact that, during the Regency, she continued his policy. When Frederick, with the Antipope, forced his way into the Leonine city in July, 1167, Queen Margaret did all that lay in her power, by sending two galleys up the Tiber, to assist Pope Alexander in his flight. The Pontiff, however, made

no use of them. The education of William II. was entrusted by her to several eminent foreigners. One of them, an Englishman, was Archbishop Walter Offamill; two more—Stephen of Rouen and Peter of Blois—were Frenchmen, sent by her relatives. The first of the three, a man of great talent, became Lord Chancellor of the kingdom and directed its external and internal policy. The feudal party, however, was hostile to the two Frenchmen, who were compelled to leave the island, and the direction of affairs remained in the hands of Offamill and Aiello.

In the year 1171, when William II. was eighteen, he began himself to govern the kingdom, then in a condition of great prosperity. He was soon drawn into war with the African Saracens and with the Byzantines. The latter were then fighting against the Venetians, who were forced to give way and burn part of their fleet because their crews had been decimated by plague. William took this opportunity to conclude a twenty years' alliance with the Venetian Republic, and at once made preparations for its assistance, thus compelling the Byzantines also to make peace with the Republic. It can be said that by this means the Sicilian King saved Venice from a great disaster. He then sent a fleet of 260 vessels to Alexandria, where a numerous army was landed on the 28th of July, 1174; but the Arabs, receiving help from various quarters, defeated his men. Thus checked, and hearing that Saladin was advancing at the head of a victorious army, the Sicilians retired from Alexandria. William's attention was now drawn by the war which the Lombard Communes were waging against Frederick Barbarossa. And thus it came about that when, in 1177, the Pope made peace with Frederick at Venice, he acted

also in the name of King William, whose representatives were present as well.

William thereupon was able to renew the war in the East. His contemporaries, with evident exaggeration, affirm that he was equipped with a fleet of 200 vessels, carrying 80,000 men, 5,000 of whom were horsemen. They took Durazzo and Thessalonika; but when they advanced on Constantinople they were defeated, and in their retreat were overtaken by a storm. It was said that, besides those who were shipwrecked, 10,000 were killed and 400 made prisoners. Yet such was the vitality of the country that William was soon able to collect a new fleet, which he placed under the command of the most celebrated Admiral of the day, Margarito of Brindisi, called the "King," or the lion of the sea. He very shortly obtained a victory over the Byzantines in the waters of Cyprus and made prisoners of many of their captains. He also conducted other Sicilian expeditions with success.

Meantime the Egyptian Sultan Saladin, at the head of 90,000 men, was pursuing his victorious campaign in Palestine, where Jerusalem capitulated to him on the 2nd of October, 1187. The 100,000 Christian inhabitants of the city were forced to pay ransom or surrender themselves as slaves to the Infidels. It is affirmed that the news of this disaster hastened the end of Pope Urban III., who died on the 20th of October, 1187. He was succeeded by Gregory VIII., who followed him to the grave on the 17th of December of the same year. After three days Clement III. was consecrated and reigned from 1187 to 1191. A third Crusade was now needed, and the Pope did all in his power to promote it. Frederick, as we have related, had already departed for the Holy

Land and met his death when crossing the river Selef on the 10th of June, 1190. William II. also participated in the Crusade by sending fifty galleys under the command of Margarito. The Admiral at once proceeded to the assistance of Tyre, at that time besieged by Saladin, and, breaking through the assailants' lines, succeeded in provisioning the town and forcing Saladin to retire. He then swept the seas clear of Egyptian galleys, and proceeded to Tripoli, where after a victorious engagement he was able to land his men and again force Saladin to withdraw. Thus were Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli restored to the Christians—a notable advantage for the Crusaders. But on the 18th of November, 1189, the aspect of affairs was changed by the death of William II.

Before his end, he committed what may, from one point of view, be called the gravest error of his life—an error which, notwithstanding the subsequent splendour of the reign of Frederick II., proved fatal to the dynasty, to the future of the kingdom and to Italy. Having no children to succeed him, William agreed to the marriage of his aunt, Constance, daughter of Roger II. and sole legitimate heiress to the Southern Kingdom, with Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, afterwards known as Henry VI. By this marriage, Henry VI. became heir to the kingdom as well as to the Empire, which signified the eventual extension of the Imperial authority over the whole of Italy. Constance was beautiful, good, and modest, but she had reached the age of thirty-one, while Henry, already proclaimed King of the Romans, was barely twenty. Pope Urban III., as was natural, protested against the union. In the kingdom, on the other hand, the majority, headed by Offamill, seems to have been favourable to it. Matthew of Aiello, to whose

eminent qualities the internal peace and prosperity of the kingdom during many years were principally due, combated the project with feverish and almost patriotic vehemence. Although not even he was entirely a stranger to the short-sighted policy of the age, still he alone appears to have clearly foreseen the future. He did all that lay in his power to prevent a marriage which he deemed disastrous, even throwing himself at the feet of Offamill and imploring him not to abandon the kingdom to the Germans. Matthew himself favoured the claims of Tancred, Count of Lecci, a natural son of Duke Roger, son of Roger II., who had predeceased his father. Among the Normans illegitimacy was not a bar to succession to the throne. But Constance was legitimate, and women were not excluded by their laws. For this reason the majority was favourable to her, and the marriage with Henry was celebrated at Milan on the 27th of January, 1176. Her dowry was borne there by 150 pack-horses, all laden with gold, silver, and precious stuffs. The Pope had refused to bless the marriage, so the benediction was given by the Patriarch of Aquileja, who placed the Iron crown, specially brought from Monza, upon the bridegroom's head. This marriage, which placed all Italy under Imperial rule, at once caused the Popes to turn their thoughts towards other foreigners, with the result that eventually the Angevins were invited to occupy Southern Italy.

William's external policy had been neither shrewd nor fortunate, but the enterprises he undertook were of such importance that they prove how great was the power and prosperity of his kingdom. Its internal history during his reign of seventeen years was one of unbroken peace and order. Under him the clever and tolerant policy of Roger II. was continued. The

Saracens, whose number exceeded 100,000, were allowed freely to teach the precepts of the Koran. The municipalities enjoyed a degree of liberty which, though far inferior to that acquired by those of Northern and Southern Italy, was quite unknown in other kingdoms. The conditions also of the populace and the peasantry were better than in other Monarchical States. Not a few of those laws and regulations for which, later on, Frederick II. received so much praise and which caused him to be called the first modern sovereign, had really originated in the times of Roger II. and William II., under the latter of whom the prosperity begun with the former increased, while literature and art made still greater progress. Many splendid monuments belong to this period. The palace into which Roger had converted the Emir's Castle, El Kassar, enlarged and finished by William, was the first really splendid royal residence of Europe, and, as such, is described by many writers of the time. Both Arabian and French authors affirm that Palermo was the greatest and most beautiful city of the world. Falcandus says that Sicily was to be preferred to any kingdom then known. The number of palaces and monuments erected during the twelfth century in Palermo is great indeed. It is sufficient to mention among many others the Zisa and the Cuba palaces, the splendid cathedral of Monreale and the exquisite Palatine Chapel. Nor is there a lack of other such monuments scattered about the Sicilian and Continental provinces. Many poets and writers of prose—Sicilians, Apulians, and other Southern Italians, Arabs, Provençals, and French—frequented the Court of Palermo. The Beneventan Falcone, Notary of the Holy Palace, was a writer of history ; Hugh Falcandus, a native of France,

lived in Sicily and wrote a history of the kingdom, commencing with the reign of Roger II. and ending in 1169, which earned him the title of the Mediæval Tacitus. The Salernitan protonotary, Aiello, was, as an administrator, the precursor of the Capuan Peter della Vigna. The celebrated Calabrian Abbot Joachim was also called to the palace, but he quickly abandoned it for the East. All this ferment of study in divers languages finally gave way to Latin and prepared the rise of Italian poetry and literature under Frederick II. In a few words it may be said that during the reign of William II., when the Italian Communes were only beginning to emerge, Sicily and the Southern provinces of the peninsula were at the head of that Italian civilisation and culture which later on was to flourish in Northern and Central Italy and to diffuse its light over Europe. All this caused William to be surnamed "the Good," and his death in 1189 was universally lamented. Dante, too, pays him his tribute in the Divine Comedy.

This Norman civilisation owed its rapid development and its wonderful brilliancy to the various elements of which it was composed and to the toleration which, resulting therefrom, allowed them freely to coexist. When, later on, with the coming of the Angevins at the Pope's request, this toleration ceased, and violent means were employed to make one sole element predominant, civilisation dried up and withered away as quickly as it had sprung up. At any rate it was the commencement of that culture which, as we shall presently see, continued and flourished at the Court of Frederick II.

BOOK III

FROM HENRY VI. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VII.

(1189–1313)

CHAPTER I

FROM HENRY VI. TO THE DEATH OF INNOCENT III.

(1189–1216)

NOTWITHSTANDING the pomp and solemnity attending Constance's wedding, and notwithstanding William's expressed wishes, the latter was no sooner dead than the people and the municipalities of Sicily manifested their aversion to Henry and their unanimous desire to place Tancred on the throne. The Protonotary Aiello, who, together with Pope Clement III., had always favoured his cause, now proclaimed and crowned him King. This naturally created great disorder in Sicily, where Henry had many adherents, especially among the nobles. Besides which, the Crusade, warmly advocated by the Pope, stirred up in the island a Christian spirit hostile to the Mahometans and excited their opposition. Tancred thus found himself in the midst of turmoil: he was brave, and at the outset fortune seemed to smile upon his arms. Henry VI., also energetic and brave, and who looked upon Tancred as an illegitimate usurper, now prepared, without hesitation, to go in person to fight him. But the bad news from the East, and especially

the death of his father, obliged him to postpone action for a time. In Germany, Henry the Lion, the implacable enemy of the Hohenstaufens, rose in rebellion, and Henry VI. was forced to cross the Alps to subdue him. This he rapidly accomplished and returned to Italy with the intention of taking the Imperial crown without delay.

Pope Clement, who had always been averse to him and had recognised Tancred as King, died towards the end of March, 1191. His successor, Celestine III. (1191–1198), equally averse, postponed his own consecration in order to avoid carrying out the Imperial coronation. The Romans, however, intervened in Henry's favour, and promised that they would hurry on the coronation if he would cease to protect Tusculum and would allow them to deal with it as they chose. The wretched town was thereupon abandoned to its fate, and Henry advanced with safety upon Rome, where the Pope was consecrated on the 14th of April, 1191, and Henry crowned Emperor in St. Peter's on the following day. Henry then marched southwards to the conquest of the Sicilian Kingdom, which, hitherto prosperous, was now threatened with civil war and anarchy.

In April, 1191, the Imperial army crossed the frontier, and, after occupying several towns, laid siege to Naples. This city, which still enjoyed a certain degree of self-government, offered a vigorous resistance. In order to press the siege from the sea also, Henry had secured the assistance of the Pisan galleys. But they achieved very little, for they were unable to resist the Sicilian fleet under Margarito, while their allies, the Genoese, arrived too late to be of any help. Matters seemed to be taking a bad turn for Henry, whose army, in the great heat, was

HENRY VI.

(From a Minnesinger MS. of the Fourteenth Century.)

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decimated by sickness. Having raised the siege in August, he was forced to return to Germany, leaving his cause in Southern Italy in a hopeless plight. The Salernitans rebelled and handed over the Empress Constance, who was then residing amongst them, to her enemies, by whom she was transferred to Tancred's custody in Sicily. But he, not realising what advantage he could obtain from the detention of such a hostage, allowed her to escape. The Pope then began to waver in order to extract promises and concessions from him, and meanwhile the war continued, during two years, with uncertain issue.

At the beginning of 1193 Tancred fell ill, and, withdrawing to Palermo, died there on the 20th of February. The Protonotary Aiello, his most trusted counsellor, was already dead, and so was Tancred's eldest son, Roger. There remained another son, still a child, who was proclaimed King as William III., while the widow, Sibilla, was appointed Regent.

In 1194 Henry VI., having returned from Germany, was again in Italy, athirst for vengeance: but at first he controlled himself to some extent, and only in later years did he give proof of occasional cruelty. Discord and treachery compelled one Southern Italian city after another to submit to his rule, and finally he entered Palermo. At Caltabellotta, the Regent Sibilla with her son, William III., Margarito and many other leaders, fell into his hands, and of these several were sent to Germany, where they were blinded. Henry was accused of having actually exhumed the bodies of Tancred and of his son Roger in order to deprive them of Christian sepulture. Even those who defend him from the accusation of having been cruelly revengeful during the first years after his return, are forced to admit that he became so later on.

After he had made sure of Southern Italy Henry appointed his brother, Duke Philip, Viceroy in Tuscany. At Spoleto he placed Conrad of Uerslingen, and over Romagna and the Marches a captain called Markwald. Thus were the Papal States enclosed, as it were, within a circle of iron. Meanwhile in Rome the nobles reigned supreme, forming an oligarchy at whose head was a sort of *Podestà* with the title of "Summus Senator." The first of them, Carushomo, retained office for two years, and was the compiler of the first City Statute. In 1197 a new revolution set up a Government composed of fifty-six Senators and a Prefect. This was a mutable, hybrid form of Republic, which, nevertheless, served to keep the Pope within bounds, and, in so doing, benefited the Emperor.

In the meantime the Empress Constance, the innocent and indirect cause of so many calamities, was living in retirement at Jesi, where, on the 26th of December, 1194, she had given birth to a son, afterwards the celebrated Frederick II. His father, wishing to make the title of Emperor hereditary, during his stay in Germany in 1196, had him at once proclaimed King of the Romans. Then, returning to Italy the same year, Henry proceeded to the South, where, with ever-increasing cruelty, he continued the task of subjugating the kingdom and of making any future act of rebellion impossible. But he died at Messina on the 28th of September, 1197, in his thirty-third year. The sole heir to the Empire, to which the whole of Southern Italy and Sicily were now united, was his son Frederick, a child scarcely three years old. On the 8th of January, 1198, Celestine III. died, and was succeeded by Innocent III. Everything thus pointed to the commencement of a new era.

Henry VI. might well cherish the illusion that he

had subjugated Italy. By the Peace of Constance matters had been settled with the Lombard Communes, which had finally acknowledged the Imperial authority. In Central Italy, his brother Philip and the Imperial Seneschal Markwald, both of whom bore the title of Duke, ruled respectively over Tuscany and over Ravenna and the Exarchate, while Conrad of Uerslingen, with the title of Count, commanded in Assisi.

The union with Constance seemed to have definitely added Southern Italy to the Empire. But instead it was at this very moment that a strong and increasing opposition to German rule began to manifest itself in all parts of Italy—an opposition which was warmly encouraged by Innocent III. The Pope's aim was to re-establish the authority and independence of the Church in its dealings with the Empire, and, like all other Popes, he was strongly opposed to the aggregation of the Southern Kingdom, which he regarded as a Papal fief, to the Empire. Elected on the 8th of January, 1198, and consecrated on the 22nd of February, Innocent was a man of energetic character, vast learning, and great talent. He had studied in Rome, Bologna, and Paris, and his mastery over civil and canon law as well as theology was such that he was regarded as an oracle to whom people from every part of the world had recourse when they needed an authoritative opinion upon theological or moral questions. Being profoundly convinced of the superior authority and dignity of the Church, he wished to re-establish them in opposition to the Imperial supremacy and to make them respected by all the Princes of the earth. To him is attributed the comparison of the Pope to the sun and the Emperor to the moon, who thus from the

Pope receives light and authority and, in consequence, is dependent upon him; and the simile, as is well known, was constantly used during the Middle Ages.

No sooner was he seated upon the Chair of St. Peter than he gave vent to the cry so frequently repeated in his letters: "Out with the hateful race of Teutons!" The moment seemed favourable to his views. In Germany there was no unanimity of opinion regarding the Imperial succession. Henry VI., as we have already noted, had left only a boy barely three years old to the guardianship of his mother Constance. On the 27th of November, 1198, Constance died, and by her will she entrusted her son to the Pope, whom she also appointed provisionally as administrator of the kingdom. This being the state of affairs, there were many in Germany who favoured the election of the Ghibelline Philip of Suabia, Henry's brother, while others supported the Guelf Otto of Brunswick. The latter was, in fact, crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle in July, 1198, and the former, shortly after, was crowned at Mayence. Nor were matters more peaceful in Central Italy, for several Communes, among which were Spoleto, Assisi, Rieti, Foligno, Narni, Todi, Città di Castello and Perugia, rose against the Empire and swore fealty to the Pope. A still larger number of the more important Communes not only declared themselves independent of the Empire but occupied their own territories, ousting the Imperial magistrates and replacing them by men of their own choosing. For this purpose the Tuscan cities formed an alliance (November 11, 1197), which assumed the proportions of a veritable Guelf league against the Empire. In Sicily the aversion to the Germans was such, that it seemed as though the whole island were

about to break into rebellion. This had driven Constance, shortly before her death, to rid herself of the German officers and to rely upon the Pope, who, at once profiting by it, sent a Legate to Palermo. And, after Constance's death, taking advantage of Frederick's tender age, of the vacancy of the Imperial throne, and of the general disorder, he actually assumed the Regency of the whole Empire.

But he too was soon forced to realise that matters were taking a turn very different to that which he desired and hoped for. The favour shown him by the Communes was merely the outcome of their hatred for the Germans. Although they wished to be independent of the Emperor they were by no means disposed to be dependent on the Pope. Through the League they aimed at making themselves masters of their territories, driving out the Imperial officials and substituting them by their own. But, at the same time, they declared themselves ready to resist the Pope should he wish to take the place of the Emperor and burden them with his political authority. The fact was that there had grown up in the Italian Communes a spirit of independence which could no longer be curbed, and which, after having led them into conflict with the Emperor, was now destined to lead them into conflict with the Pope. Furthermore the increasing Papal interference in Southern Italy had aroused the opposition of the Feudatories of the kingdom. These lords were assisted and encouraged in their opposition by Markwald, who had repaired to the South in the hope of gaining favour in Sicily, where his project was to obtain mastery in the name of the Empire. To meet these threats the Pope, being without sufficient troops of his own, had recourse to Walter of Brienne, a valiant French captain of

fortune. But he proved a dangerous tool, for, having married Albinia, daughter of Tancred, he soon began to advance his own pretensions to the Sicilian throne. Thus it came about, in 1201, that while his friends and enemies on either side of the Straits contended with one another, the success of either party was equally a source of anxiety to the Pope. Fortunately for him, Markwald died of stone in 1202 and Walter of Brienne was killed in battle in 1205.

This did not suffice, however, to free the Pope from the difficulties against which he had to struggle. The Roman Republic was always very turbulent, and the arrogant nobles at its head gave him no peace, for they were irritated by his inclination towards nepotism and the excessive favour he showed to his brother Richard.

The great question was, of course, that of the Imperial succession. Frederick, who had by this time reached the age of thirteen, was the legitimate heir to the Sicilian throne. Were he once elected Emperor he would dominate Italy and Germany and might reasonably count on making the Empire hereditary. To all this Innocent was necessarily most averse. And yet, when he saw that the German Electors were divided between the Guelf Otho, nephew of Richard Cœur de Lion, and the Ghibelline Philip, brother of Henry VI., he unhesitatingly gave his support to the former. Otho responded by recognising the Pope's sovereignty as extending from Radicofani to Ceprano and including the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, the Marches of Ancona, Spoleto, the lands of Countess Matilda and the county of Bertinoro with its neighbouring territories. All this was expressly confirmed by the Treaty of Neuss, signed on the 8th of June, 1201, which was

a real official recognition of the States of the Church. To this Treaty Philip made violent opposition, finding many supporters among the partisans of the late Emperor, not only in Germany and Italy, but also in France. The Pope, naturally alarmed, sought to come to terms with him. But Philip suddenly disappeared from the scene, for he was killed on the 21st of June, 1208, by a personal enemy, Otho of Wittelsbach. On the 11th of November Otho of Suabia was, with general approval, proclaimed King of the Romans at Frankfort, and on the 4th of October, 1209, was crowned Emperor in St. Peter's. The Romans, however, were not willing that he should go beyond the Leonine City, cross the Tiber, or enter Rome.

There was therefore the usually bloody fray, in which it is said that 1,000 Germans lost their lives. It is, however, certain that Otho IV. departed without having crossed the river, and very soon he made it clear that he had no intention of respecting the Treaty of Neuss. He was of a Guelf family, but no sooner had he been crowned Emperor than he became, of necessity, a Ghibelline in Italy. He proceeded to occupy certain territories, among them some of Countess Matilda's lands, which by the Treaty of Neuss he had promised to leave to the Pope. He appointed Imperial representatives in Spoleto, Ancona and elsewhere. He also entered into negotiations with such persons as came to him from Southern Italy and sought to re-establish the Imperial authority there. But besides all this, he marched with his army to the Abruzzi, crossing the Papal States on his way. Thereupon Innocent, who was not the man to hesitate in the face of provocation, on the 18th of November, 1210, solemnly excommunicated the Emperor whom he had so recently crowned. He commenced, more-

over, a violent propaganda against him, and now openly avowed the intention, conceived some time before, of supporting the election of Frederick II., who had then reached his nineteenth year.

In consequence of this, many Germans also forsook Otho and returned to Frederick, whom they invited to come and be crowned King of the Romans. And he made ready to accept the invitation. But first he caused his infant son Henry, born to him but a few months previously by his first wife, to be crowned in Palermo in 1212. On arriving at Rome in April of the same year, he evinced much gratitude to Innocent III., whom he then saw for the first time, and promised him, among much else, that, as soon as he should be crowned Emperor, he would quit the Southern Kingdom, for which, meanwhile, he rendered due homage. In Germany he was met by many difficulties, and his cause made but slow progress until the middle of 1214. But then Otho IV., having engaged in war with Philip Augustus of France, suffered a defeat on the 27th of July, 1214, which proved his ruin and Frederick's fortune. In fact, Frederick was crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 25th of July, 1215. Meanwhile he had gone even further in his promises to Innocent. He guaranteed the freedom of the Papal elections and recognised the Papal States as extending from Radicofani to Ceprano, with the inclusion of the Marches of Ancona, Spoleto, the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, Corsica, Sardinia, and the lands of Countess Matilda. Moreover, he recognised the Pope's feudal lordship over the Southern Kingdom on both sides of the Straits and repeated the promise of abandoning that kingdom, which would be his son's, for he admitted the impossibility of uniting it to the Empire. But these were

INNOCENT III.

(From a contemporary mosaic.)

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almost all promises which he neither would nor could keep, and the keeping of them, in fact, did not depend on his will alone. Obstacles in the way of maintaining them were inherent to the contradiction that was in them. The Pope needed an Emperor who should not be a real Emperor: and the Emperor a Pope who should be no real Pope. The struggle between them was bound to last as long as the two supreme authorities which desired to govern mediæval society should continue to exist in their ancient form. But for the moment it seemed as though harmony had been achieved, and in a solemn Council held at the Lateran on the 11th of November, 1215, and attended by 1,500 prelates and many lay personages representing various States, the deposition of Otho and the recognition of Frederick were declared.

Innocent might well have thought that, by means of the negotiations now concluded, he had destroyed the work of Barbarossa and Henry VI. in Italy and had established once and for all the supremacy of the Church; but it would have been a great delusion. Not only did Frederick very soon come into conflict with him, but a very general feeling of political aversion to the Church had arisen, which was destined ere long radically to change the Pope's position in regard to the Communes and to the growing civil power of other States.

For some time past a great change in Italian social life had been in process, as was evident from the rapid progress of literary and scientific culture as well as from a growing religious agitation. The medical school of Salerno was already flourishing, as were the law schools of Pavia, Bologna, and Ravenna; while a national literature was about to blossom at

the Court of Palermo. And, at the same time, various forms of that religious movement which had begun with Arnold of Brescia, with the followers of the Cluny reform, and with the *Pataria* of Milan, showed signs of fresh vitality, and, as was always the case in Italy, turned towards mysticism or towards the improvement of public manners rather than towards theological discussion, which never offered great attraction to Italian minds. The beautiful "Imitation of Christ," so widely diffused and translated into so many tongues, gives us a clear idea of pure, evangelic love as it was then conceived. Another sign was the appearance of such a man as Abbot Joachim and the great influence he exercised in Italy. Born in Calabria and educated by the Greek monks of St. Basil, he had founded an Abbey at a spot called "Fiore" in Sila, in 1189. He was the author of three Latin works: "The Concordance of the Old and New Testaments," a "Commentary of the Apocalypse," and "The Psalter of the Ten Strings" or "Decacordo": and these three works, united and preceded by a preface, were entitled "The Eternal Gospel," and were widely read in Italy. In them, by a fantastic and far-fetched interpretation of the Bible, a new era of peace, love, and brotherhood was foretold. The Church of the Father (the Old Testament) had been succeeded by the Church of the Son (the New Testament), and this, in the year 1260, would be succeeded by the Church of the Holy Ghost. On its coming even the humblest mortals would be filled with the true spirit of the Gospels. This doctrine, which continued to spread even after the author's death in 1202, soon became fused with several others to which it gave its colour, and was admired and accepted by many of the followers of St. Francis.

This Saint, born at Assisi about 1182, has, not without reason, been called by some the true Italian Saint. Coming of a well-to-do family, after some years of worldly life, he renounced all his possessions in order to give himself to poverty, which he called his bride. The spirit of sacrifice and abnegation which filled him, and the ardent enthusiasm and love which he felt, not only for his fellow-mortals but for all living things, made him the idol of the multitude, which surrounded his name with legends and made of him, in a certain sense, the personification of the popular feeling of his day. Extraordinary indeed was the influence he exercised not only upon the moral and religious life of the people, but also upon art and literature, and upon the very soul of Dante, as appears in the "Divine Comedy."

By the side of St. Francis we see the Spaniard St. Dominic. In 1215 he was in Rome, where (1216) he received from Pope Honorius the bull sanctioning the institution of the new Order of Preachers which he had founded. Originally the Dominicans also made a rule of poverty, from which, however, in later times, they deviated. The two new orders, Franciscan and Dominican, retained nothing of the hermit spirit, and were in no way feudal; they, and more especially the Franciscans, were instead democratic, living in the midst of their fellow-beings and mixing freely with them. But they differed fundamentally from one another. St. Dominic went to Provence in 1205 to preach the Crusade against the Albigenses, inciting his hearers to a bloody persecution of the heretics; St. Francis, instead, would have willingly submitted himself to cruel torture rather than cause suffering to any living creature.

In Italy the religious movement as well as the

literary movement of this time received its impulse from France and Provence, and from these countries came also the heretical movement. The first and most important of the heretical sects, from which most of the others were derived, was that of the Catharists, who, springing up in Bulgaria, migrated thence into Provence. These Catharists professed the dual worship of the Manichæans, that is to say, they acknowledged the two principles of evil and of good, and they exalted poverty and purity of life. In addition (and this gained them popularity in Italy) they evinced a great hatred of Papal corruption and avidity for temporal possessions.

The Albigenses differed very little from the Catharists, but the Waldensians, who took their name from Peter Waldo, or Valdes, of Lyons, and who were also known as the "Poor" of Lyons, diverged greatly from these. They held that the Roman Church was not the Church of Christ, and that every layman could consecrate. But these doctrines did not spread in Italy, nor did those of the Manichees. The ideas which found favour there were the aversion to temporal power, love of poverty, the great importance given to Biblical authority and the condemnation of corrupt living. At first the Italian heretics did not wish to defy the Papal authority, but later on they were drawn into conflict with it.

Innocent III. found himself at once forced into a bitter struggle against this formidable heretical movement, which was substantially more or less Catharist, and had been introduced into Italy from Provence. He hoped at first to overcome it by the preaching of the Dominicans, but, when he perceived the inadequacy of such treatment, he sent

forth special Legates with the mission of extirpating heresy at all costs, and this was the origin of the Inquisition. Unfortunately politics were soon playing a part in this religious struggle and causing it to become sanguinary. The aristocracy of Northern France, organised by the Papal Legates, headed by Simon of Montfort and instigated and inflamed by the eloquence of the Dominicans (who poured oil on the flames), undertook a veritable Crusade in Provence, where they shed rivers of blood. During the last years of his life, Innocent, as though terrified by his own work, desired to curb a movement which had brought destruction on a whole region. But it was too late. Blood had flowed and ruin could no longer be stayed. Refugees from Provence poured into Italy. Their tales of suffering moved all hearts to pity, and, inspiring hatred for the originator of so much cruelty, contributed to render antagonistic the very populations who had heretofore assisted the Papacy in its struggle with the Empire. From that time onwards the position of the Papacy in regard to Italy was profoundly altered.

On the 16th of July, 1216, Innocent III. ended his days at Perugia, and two years later, on the 19th of March, 1218, Otho IV. also died. Thus was Frederick freed of two dangerous rivals and able, apparently, to take heart and unhesitatingly to follow his own impulses. But unfortunately he still had to combat new and equally grave difficulties.

CHAPTER II

FREDERICK II.

(1216–1250)

Honorius III. was consecrated at Perugia on the 24th of July, 1216, and entered the Lateran on the 4th of September. He found himself at once in conflict with Frederick II., who, for his part, was confronted with difficulties of so grave a character that some of them at least seemed insuperable. In Southern Italy Frederick had to curb the nobles, reorganise the kingdom and seek to give it unity; in Northern and Central Italy the task of maintaining the Imperial authority over the ever-rebellious Communes lay before him. The numerous and brave Saracen soldiers, devoted to the Monarchy, were now a cause of anxiety, for, living as they did in the midst of a Christian population, they felt themselves disliked and were therefore restless. Frederick at once decided to remove them all from the island and establish them on the peninsula at Nocera, which was nicknamed "the Pagan." By a series of laws and administrative regulations he reorganised the kingdom so admirably as to deserve to be called the originator of the Modern State. United to great

PETER DELLA VIGNA.

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natural gifts, he possessed a high degree of culture, and his tolerance in matters of religion and science was such as to make him a worthy successor to Roger II. He spoke many languages, Arabic among them. He lived on equally good terms with Catholics, Mahometans, philosophers of no belief, and Arab, Byzantine, Norman, Provençal and Italian poets. He took a lively interest in their labours, which he encouraged by his own example, discussing philosophy, religion, and sacred and profane science, and composing verses with his children and his courtiers. His Chancellor, Peter della Vigna, of Capua, was a poet as well as a learned jurist. The Court of Palermo thus became the first Court of Europe and one of the greatest centres of culture. The most talented men of the island and of the Continental provinces were collected there, and it was they who originated that new national literature which later on was to shake itself free of Provençal influence and rise so high as to renew the culture of Europe. Frederick, too, promoted the Salerno school and founded the University of Naples.

His ambition was, moreover, to add the Imperial crown to that of the kingdom of Sicily, which he considered his personal heritage, and, after Otho's death, which occurred on the 19th of May, 1218, there seemed to be no great obstacle in his path. Frederick was then in Germany, and, wishing to make the Empire together with the dominion over Upper Italy hereditary in his family, he desired that his son should be crowned King of the Romans. But at this point the gravest difficulties sprung up. He was on the worst possible terms with the Pope and in conflict with the Communes, which were increasingly opposed to German rule and were receiving

support from Innocent III. Since the formation of the Lombard League, and the signing of the Peace of Constance, the Italian Communes had become a power of the first order. Their strength and wealth had increased beyond measure. The improved conditions of France and Germany made of Northern Italy the centre of gravity for the world's commerce. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice formed the connecting links between Eastern and Western trade. Therefore, when Frederick proposed to subjugate the Communes, he was compelled to realise that he was dealing with a foe stronger than himself, and destined to break up the unity of the Empire and to survive it. The union of the whole of Italy under his sceptre was a dream. To realise it he must have struggled with too many adversaries, and must have been opposed by that very spirit of culture which he represented and encouraged.

To this contradiction there was added another, not less serious nor less important in its effects. Frederick was a sincere Catholic and disposed to persecute heresy, but he was also imbued with the philosophical ideas of his age and with the traditional toleration of the Normans. He enjoyed discussions with the prelates, minor friars, Mahometans, philosophers, and heretics by whom he was surrounded. He was firmly convinced of the State's right to be independent of the Church, and wished to see the latter reformed according to the doctrines of the Franciscans, of Abbot Joachim, and even of Arnold of Brescia, whose religious ideas were shared by many Italians. All these various tendencies brought into his conduct a series of contrasts, vacillations, and contradictions which made the tragedy of his life and which were held by many to be inherent to his character while,

in reality, they were often but the fatal consequences of the contradictory conditions in which he was placed.

In April, 1220, Frederick succeeded in having his son Henry proclaimed, in Frankfort, King of the Romans. On the 22nd of November of the same year he was in Rome with his wife, Constance of Aragon, and received the Imperial crown from Pope Honorius, to whom, as usual, he had made many promises in favour of the Church, not all of which would he have been able to keep even had he wished it. He had also given his word to undertake a Crusade, and this was much desired by Honorius, who hoped thus to be able to get him out of Italy. But Frederick was then occupied by the ordering and administration of his kingdom, where alone his power was real and effective, and whence he could obtain both funds and troops. He seems hardly to have remembered the Pope's right or pretension to consider the kingdom as a Papal fief. Desiring, too, to exercise his authority as Emperor over the whole of Italy, he sent representatives into Romagna, treating it almost as Imperial territory, while, in reality, it formed part of those very Papal States which he had promised to respect.

It must however be said that the Papal States were very inorganic and laxly constituted. Certain portions of them were governed simultaneously by the Pope and by the Roman Republic, who were constantly in conflict with one another. To this must be added the pretensions of the Communes and of the local lords, and now those of Frederick, which he sought to impose by force of arms. From this resulted disorder and rioting, which broke out at Spoleto, and, with greater violence, at Viterbo, a large

town, capable of putting 18,000 men into the field. Viterbo at this time was torn by rival parties and involved in conflict with Rome, which, in 1221, led to a lengthy war between them. Affairs were in a still worse condition at Perugia—a city of far greater political, literary and artistic importance. At an earlier date than Rome, Perugia had armed its guilds of artisans with their Rectors and Consuls. It had then sworn obedience to Innocent III., and the Pope had sanctioned its local statutes, but had never succeeded in taming the fierce feuds of its opposing factions. Its nobles were constantly fighting amongst themselves and against the people, who finally rose, drove out the Pope's representatives, and instituted a democratic form of government which was opposed alike to the nobles and clergy. The Popes several times lost and regained their authority over Perugia. Honorius allied himself to the people in order to have their help in his approaching struggle with Frederick, for otherwise the Emperor, who was the stronger, might easily have imposed his authority over them.

Intent upon making of his Southern Kingdom a strong, centralised State, Frederick, although he allowed its municipalities a certain degree of representation and autonomy, was naturally very much opposed to the Communal independence, with its free election of Consuls and *Podestà*, which was so successful in Northern and Central Italy. For this very reason Perugia chose rather to be dependent upon the Roman Republic, and had, in fact, never quite severed its connection with the *Alma Mater*. In its statutes and public acts, the Papal authority was recognised together with that of the Roman people. During the whole of the thirteenth century the office of *Podestà* of Perugia was filled by Roman

SEAL OF FREDERICK II. AS KING OF JERUSALEM.

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nobles. And when, in 1286, Perugia formed an alliance with Narni, Todi, and Spoleto, which lasted for forty years, the Treaty was entitled, "Ad honorem matris nostrae Almae Urbis." Such a state of affairs resulted in inevitable friction between the Pope and the Roman people, and in Rome the nobles, who profited by it, became increasingly turbulent and riotous. In fact, in the spring of 1225, they actually compelled Honorius to quit the city.

Thereupon he insisted more than ever upon Frederick's departure for the Holy Land. The Empress Constance having died in 1222, the Pope induced him to take as his second wife Yolande of Brienne, daughter of John of Brienne, the titular King of Jerusalem, hoping by this means to persuade him more easily to move Eastwards. But in this he was deceived, for the only result was that Frederick added to his other titles that of King of Jerusalem and remained where he was. The ardent wish to fight the Infidels was everywhere abating, and naturally Frederick did not feel it very keenly. The Pope's annoyance grew stronger and he fanned the disaffection of the Lombard Communes, with which Frederick was not on good terms. On the 6th of March, 1226, these Communes renewed their former League of mutual defence for a period of twenty-five years.

In 1226 Pope Honorius was able to return to Rome, but on the 18th of March of the following year he died. Gregory IX. was elected on the following day and consecrated on the 21st. Although very old, he was far more energetic than his mild predecessor, and he succeeded at last in persuading Frederick to start for the Crusade. In September, after they had suffered greatly from

the insupportable heat of August in Apulia, the Emperor and his troops embarked at Brindisi. Very soon, however, an epidemic, to which their bad condition of health made them liable, broke out among the troops, and the Emperor too fell ill of fever. Upon this he decided to return and landed at Otranto. It is easy to picture the old Pope's indignation, for he, very naturally, considered that he had been derided and treated with contempt. In the cathedral of Anagni, on the 29th of the same month of September, he solemnly excommunicated Frederick and stigmatised his conduct in a manifesto to the Bishops. To this Frederick responded with equal violence, explaining in a manifesto to the Sovereigns, which was nothing less than a formal protest of the civil power against the ecclesiastical, the reasons which had induced him to forgo the enterprise. In language which might have been used by Luther, he recapitulated all that the temporal Princes had suffered at the hands of the Popes : " These are the ways of Rome, the wiles of priests who seek to ensnare, to grasp money, and to subjugate all men : they appear as lambs, but are in reality ravening wolves." This Imperial manifesto was publicly read on the Capitol by members of the Ghibelline party, and, in reply, the Pope again solemnly excommunicated the Emperor in a public speech which was frequently interrupted by Frederick's partisans. Finally Gregory was compelled to fly to Viterbo and thence to Perugia.

Nevertheless the Papal authority was so great that Frederick saw himself forced to start again for the Crusade, although his ardour against the Infidels had certainly not increased. Not only, as we have repeatedly observed, were there Mahometans at his Court with whom he frequently held amicable dis-

course, but there were many also in his army, and they were his most valid supporters. For this reason, and for the better success of his undertaking, before moving Eastwards he entered into negotiations with some of the Mahometan princes, and especially with the Soldan of Egypt, who was the enemy of the Soldan of Damascus, and who promised to hand over to him the city of Jerusalem when it should have fallen into his hands. By Easter of 1228 the Egyptian Soldan had made himself master of Palestine, and thereupon Frederick, feeling upon safe ground, embarked for the East with a following of only 600 men, without waiting for the reinforcements which were expected from Germany. This, however, in no way mollified the Pope, who condemned with asperity all agreements with the Infidels, in spite of the fact that, in common prudence, such agreements were unavoidable now that every one was convinced of the impossibility of driving them out of the Holy Land. Even the Pope himself was forced, later on, to sanction several similar treaties as necessary. But he would never exculpate Frederick, whom he also accused of having embarked without sufficient troops, although it was known that the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, with 1,500 horsemen and 1,000 foot, was awaiting him in Syria. At any rate, by virtue of the previous understanding, the Emperor was assured of the possession of Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, and other towns. Notwithstanding this, the Pope never ceased to blame with the utmost severity the treaty which was then concluded with the Infidels, by means of which Frederick, after having occupied various cities of Palestine, was able to make a solemn entry into Jerusalem on the 17th of March, 1229. And yet in 1231, when ratifying its results, the Pope ordered the Grand Master of the Templars to respect it.

The Emperor very justly considered that his policy had been wise and clever, but Gregory continued to accuse him of having acted as a heretic or pirate instead of as a Crusader. He would in nowise abate the rigour of excommunication and forbade that, in Jerusalem, Mass should be celebrated in his presence. Frederick, nevertheless, ascended Calvary, visited the Church of the Resurrection (which he found bare of all sacred ornaments), and the Holy Sepulchre, that had been covered afresh with a veil. Orders from Rome had forbidden the imparting of any blessing. On the 19th of March, 1229, the Archbishop of Cesarea placed all churches in Jerusalem under interdict so long as the Emperor should remain in the city. On the 1st of May he departed with bitterness in his soul, and on the 10th he was back in Apulia. He no sooner landed than he was informed that the Pope had organised a crusade against him in Italy and was collecting men and funds from all parts. Thus did the Emperor's army, bearing the Cross as a badge (*crocesegnato*), find itself opposed to the Pope's army bearing the Keys (*clavisegnato*). The Imperialists were soon victorious, and peace was concluded at San Germano on the 23rd of July, 1230. Frederick was then freed from excommunication. Nevertheless, in conclusion, the real advantage remained with the Church, for its prestige was enormous. The Pope then began again the persecution of heretics and of the Minor Friars, who, of all the Franciscans, were the most earnest in their exaltation of poverty and in their aversion to the Church's possession of temporal goods; upon which point they were in accord with the heretics. The stake was now frequently lit in Rome by the Inquisition, which had been at work since 1220. Frederick was forced to publish an edict against

heresy. But the conditions of public life in Italy were at that time so strange that the very Republic of Rome which had assisted the Pope in his persecutions of heretics, now rose against him on the 1st of June, 1231, and drove him out of Rome after having recalled him but a short while previously.

During the summer of 1232 the Pope went to Anagni and revived the campaign for the re-establishment of his authority over those portions of the Roman Duchy which the Republic wished to rule. Many towns took advantage of the ensuing disorder to declare themselves independent. To make the confusion which arose from all this still greater, the same Roman Republic which was constantly opposing the Pope and driving him out of the city, was unable to deprive itself for long of his presence, and was therefore obliged to recall him. This happened again in 1233. Frederick also, between whom and the Pope there was so much animosity, was yet constantly aiding him with his troops. Especially at this moment was it necessary for the Emperor to be most cautious in his conduct, for his son Henry was heading a rebellion in Germany and, in alliance with Gregory and the ever-factious Lombard Communes, might become most dangerous. In fact, although Frederick was now obliged to return to the South to settle the affairs of his kingdom and although he was, on this account, called by the Pope a traitor to the Church, he still left some of his German infantry with Gregory. By its help the Pope was able to defend the Castle of Viterbo against the Roman troops who were trying to take it. When they were finally put to flight, peace was made and the representative of the Republic acknowledged the Papal supremacy (1235).

Frederick meanwhile having repaired to Germany,

succeeded in putting down the rebellion of his son Henry, who, deprived of his title of King of the Romans, was imprisoned in Apulia (1235). On returning to Italy, the Emperor was forced to begin a campaign against the Lombard Communes, which had already formed an alliance with Bologna against any prince who should seek to establish his authority over them. The number and force of these Communes were increasing and the Pope favoured their cause from antagonism to the Emperor. On Frederick's side there were now only a few Ghibelline Communes and the celebrated tyrant Ezzelino da Romano, ever cruel and sanguinary, and master of many Venetian towns. Determined to bring matters to an end, Frederick recrossed the Alps and, with the help of Ezzelino and other partisans, collected a strong army, assaulted and took Vicenza, which he handed over to Ezzelino, and, on the 27th of November, 1237, at Cortenuova, came to a pitched battle with the forces of the Communes, which he decisively defeated. He then triumphantly entered Cremona, bringing with him the fragments of the Milanese *Carroccio*, to the flagstaff of which was bound Peter Tiepolo, son of the Venetian Doge and *Podestà* of Milan. These fragments were sent to Rome and carried in triumph to the Capitol as though in recognition of the source of Imperial authority. All this was naturally very irritating to the Pope, who again was forced to leave Rome for a short time.

The struggle with the Communes was, however, still far from being at an end. Brescia heroically resisted several fierce assaults of the Imperial army, and Frederick, worn out, withdrew from its walls. This was a severe blow to his prestige, and afforded much satisfaction to the Pope, who, on the 24th of

March, 1239, again excommunicated him from the Lateran and exonerated his subjects from their allegiance. To this the Emperor replied by a letter addressed to the Princes, and written by Peter della Vigna, in which he appealed to a future Council. The Pope responded by another Encyclical commencing with the words, "Ascendit de mare bestia blasphemiae," in which he accused Frederick, among other things, of having cursed God. Scandal and controversy were never-ending. Frederick, who represented the unity and independence of the State, was continually in conflict with the Pope, while frequently defending him from his enemies. He was on friendly terms with unbelievers, yet he persecuted heretics and took part in a Crusade. The Pope, who was opposed to the autonomy of the State, to tolerance, to heresy and its supporters, favoured the rebellion of the Communes, which, standing for political liberty and intellectual and moral independence, desired the reform of the Church and hated her avidity for temporal possessions. The whole period was undoubtedly one of confusion and transformation.

Enzo, the youngest of Frederick's sons, now marched into the Marches of Ancona, while his father occupied part of the Roman States. The Pope called a Council in Rome on the 9th of August, 1240, but the Emperor opposed it with decision. Many Cardinals and other Prelates, on their way to attend the Council, embarked at Genoa under the escort of the Genoese fleet. They were attacked and defeated off Monte Christo by a combined Imperial and Pisan fleet on the 3rd of May, 1241. This success placed the Cardinals and Prelates at the Emperor's mercy. At the same time a formidable

Mongol invasion was pouring over Poland, Russia, and Hungary. Frederick maintained that, before all things, it was imperative to give peace to Christendom by arranging matters in Rome, and that afterwards he would think of repulsing the New Barbarians. Yet he commanded his second son Conrad, now his chosen heir, to face the enemy at the head of the German army. Fortunately, the death of Oktai, Khan of all the Tartars, which occurred about that time, caused the invaders to retire to the Volga.

Meantime the Ghibelline party in Rome had apparently gained fresh courage from recent events, and Frederick advanced with his army as far as Grottaferrata with the intention of besieging Rome. But news reached the camp that the aged Pontiff, who, some writers affirm, had almost attained his hundredth year, had died on the 22nd of August, 1241. His immediate successor, Celestine IV., only survived him for seventeen days, and his death was followed by a long interregnum, during which the government of the city was entirely in the hands of the recently elected Senator Rubeo. Rubeo was a Guelf, and after forming an alliance with Perugia, Narni, and other Guelf cities, prepared for an energetic defence against Frederick. The Emperor then began to waver, for his forces were insufficient for a regular siege, and he feared attack from the rear. On the 25th of June, 1243, the Cardinals assembled at Anagni to elect a new Pope. Among them were some who had been captured by Frederick at Monte Christo, and whom he had subsequently liberated in order that, as they were of his party, they might vote favourably for him. And, in fact, their choice fell on the Genoese Innocent IV. (1243–1245), a member

of the Fieschi family, who was Frederick's friend. Nevertheless Frederick, on hearing the news, exclaimed, "I have lost a friend among the Cardinals who will now become my enemy, for no Pope was ever a Ghibelline!"

It is certain that Innocent at once took up a hostile attitude, and favoured the Emperor's enemies. In March, 1244, Frederick was induced to conclude a treaty with the Pope, but it was violated before it was definitely sanctioned. For them to come to a sincere agreement was impossible. Innocent refused to free the Emperor from the sentence of excommunication, until the latter should have evacuated all the strong places which he had occupied within the Papal States, and this Frederick declined to do. Thus it came about that the Pope embarked for France in a Genoese vessel, and convoked a Council at Lyons, in which, on the 17th of July, 1245, he not only reconfirmed the excommunication, but went so far as to depose the Emperor without any form of trial. Frederick then appealed to a future Council, and published a protest. Innocent replied by another manifesto, in which he maintained that the Pope had the faculty of judging Kings and Emperors. "The two swords of the temporal and spiritual powers," he says, "were both entrusted to the head of the Church, which, of its own free will, had granted one of them to the Emperor." Innocent continued the struggle with redoubled energy, and it would seem that he too desired the destruction of the House of Hohenstaufen. He renewed the Crusade against Frederick, declaring him a heretic; he conspired against him, and is even said to have plotted his murder.

So much virulence brought about a reaction. The

Ghibelline party became stronger, and Ezzelino da Romano, who was endeavouring with all his might and with the help of the Empire and the nobles to transform the Venetian Communes, which he had mastered, into lordships, had now joined it. But although the time when the Communes would all be forced to submit to such a change was not far distant, yet it could not be obtained by inundating cities in blood, which was the method he had recourse to more than once. Moreover, such actions brought no good to Frederick, against whom, too, new enemies were springing up in Germany. On the 22nd of May, 1246, the Germans proclaimed Henry Raspe,[1] Landgrave of Thuringia, King of the Romans, and he then marched against Conrad. But his career was soon ended by death. William of Holland was then elected and carried on the war with Conrad. Meanwhile Ezzelino and Frederick's son Enzo were attempting to suffocate the Guelf League of Northern Italy. Frederick of Antioch, another of the Emperor's sons, was placed in Tuscany as Imperial Vicar, and sought to keep down the Guelfs. In Southern Italy Frederick was struggling against the Pope's envoys, who left him no peace, accusing him not only of heresy but of wishing to found a new religion. In the North the rebellious cities became still more violent, so that by July, 1247, he was there again in person, besieging Parma, which resisted valiantly. On the 10th of February, 1248, while Frederick had gone hunting, the citizens of Parma sallied forth, attacked his camp, killed many of his men, made numerous prisoners, and carried away much plunder. The Emperor was then forced to

[1] A contraction of the name of a Thuringian borough, Raspenberg.

FREDERICK II.'S CASTEL DEL MONTE.

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retire to Cremona, almost as a fugitive, and it became a saying that this defeat was a second Legnano. During the following year, on the 26th of May, 1249, Enzo was attacked at Fossalta and captured by the Bolognese, who held him prisoner till his death in 1272. Misfortune pursued the unhappy Emperor. At Parma he had lost Taddeo Sessa, an eminent statesman, a brave soldier, and a faithful servant. Peter della Vigna—an able Chancellor, a learned jurist, and cultivated man of letters—after having for many years enjoyed his master's confidence, was traduced by courtiers, who caused him to be suspected of treason. Upon this he was cast into prison, and his grief was such that by his own hand he put an end to his life. His name is immortalised by Dante, who, in the "Divine Comedy," exalts his fidelity and declares him a victim to envy and calumny.

The measure was now full: Frederick could no longer withstand so many successive blows. Withdrawing into Apulia, he died on the 13th of December, 1250, in the Castle of Fiorentino, near Lucera, guarded by his faithful Saracens. In Germany there remained his son Conrad, then twenty-two years old, whom, by his will, he had nominated his heir, but who had a rival in William of Holland. In Italy there remained Manfred of Taranto, his natural son, said to have been legitimised, whom the Emperor, in his will, had appointed Conrad's viceroy for the Southern Kingdom. Frederick's wives and mistresses had been many. His first three wives were Constance of Aragon, Yolande of Brienne, and Isabella of England. Conrad was the son of the second wife, and Henry, only twelve years old at his father's death, was the son of the third. The imprisoned Enzo, the former Vicar in Tuscany, Frederick

of Antioch, and Manfred were all three natural sons.

The impress left by Frederick upon the history of the times was so strong that his memory became surrounded by legendary tales which held him to be still alive or destined to return again to this world. Many and various have been the judgments passed on him and his deeds by changeful parties. It is certain, however, that he is one of the greatest Sovereigns that history records. But, born in a century of disorder and contradiction, which he himself personified, and called to govern countries such as Germany and North and South Italy, each of which required a different policy and, at times, even an opposite policy, it frequently happened that with one hand he demolished what he had built up with the other. After him matters were destined to go from bad to worse, and this state of things did not tend to silence the doubts and disputes which arose over the memory of a man who yet is considered by all to have been very great.

CHAPTER III

MANFRED, CHARLES OF ANJOU, AND THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO

(1251–1266)

Pope Innocent IV. was at Lyons and still determined to carry on the struggle with the Hohenstaufen family, which he intended to exterminate. In Germany he preached hatred of Conrad and supported the usurper, William of Holland; in Southern Italy he used every means to combat Manfred, inciting the population to desert him. In order to sustain the struggle more efficaciously, he quitted Lyons on the 19th of April, 1251, after a sojourn of six years, and, returning to Italy, established himself at Perugia, where he was most favourably received.

Manfred, son of Bianca Lancia, was born in 1232, and had married Beatrice of Saluzzo, daughter of Count Amadeus IV., of Savoy. Young, handsome, brave and chivalrous, full of talent, a lover of music and poetry, the friend of poets and literary men, he had many of his father's qualities without, however, possessing his political genius, of which, in the enormous difficulties of the situation,

he stood sadly in need. He requested Conrad to join him in Italy in order to face the numerous foes which the Pope had incited against him, and Conrad came in October, 1251. At Verona he was received by Ezzelino with great honour, and from there he marched to the South, where, on the 25th of March, 1252, his wife, Elizabeth of Wittelsbach, bore him a son and heir called Conradin, afterwards celebrated by his great misfortunes. Conrad's campaign commenced most successfully, and, in October, 1253, he entered Naples in triumph. Upon this the Pope, then in Assisi, excommunicated him. Conrad, however, took no heed of this, and believing that safety was now assured in the South, appointed Manfred his representative there and left with him Berchthold of Hohenburg in command of the German troops. Conrad then made preparations to return to Lombardy with an army of 20,000 men, but he died near Lavello, between Melfi and Venosa, in his twenty-seventh year, leaving the infant Conradin, then in Bavaria, as his sole heir and the only legitimate representative of the House of Hohenstaufen.

Shortly before Conrad's death Innocent, realising that the state of affairs was becoming unfavourable to himself, had taken the desperate step of offering the kingdom of Sicily to a stranger, whom he incited to the conquest of the island. His first thought had been to summon Charles of Anjou, brother to the King of France, but meeting with no success at the French Court he turned to King Henry III. of England, and pressed him to send his son, the Duke of Lancaster, with an army. Conrad's death, however, altered the situation. The Southern nobles, out of hatred for Berchthold

and his Germans, had turned to Innocent. Thereupon Manfred and Berchthold thought it wiser to come to an agreement with the Pope, and requested from him the recognition of Conradin's rights. But the Pope replied that they must first make a public act of submission to the Church and acknowledge its suzerainty over the kingdom. As for Conradin's rights, they should be taken into consideration only when he had reached the age to exercise them. Meanwhile he confirmed the excommunication of Manfred, Berchthold, and Ezzelino, and, obtaining funds from bankers, from Church lands, and even from Ghibelline possessions, set to work to form an army for the invasion of the kingdom. Berchthold then seeing the strong opposition made to his German troops by the Pope on the one hand, and by the Italian nobles on the other, thought it wiser to depart and leave the Regency to Manfred alone. The latter then decided to come to terms with the Pope, and, on the 27th of September, 1254, accepted the title of Vicar of the Church, with which he appeared to be now at peace. But, as usual, this was but a truce to gain time, for neither party was sincere. In fact Manfred, surrounded by his faithful Saracen guard, was at the head of an army with which he attacked and defeated the Papal troops as they advanced towards Foggia on the 2nd of December, 1254. The Pope was at Naples when the bad news was brought to him, and on the 7th of the same month he died. On the 12th the new Pope, Alexander IV., was elected in Naples and consecrated on the 20th.

Alexander IV. desired to continue his predecessor's policy, but by the employment of peaceful methods. He soon saw, however, that this was

impossible. After his success Manfred took heart, and, moreover, in April, 1255, he was officially recognised as Regent by the guardians of Conradin in Germany. At the same time Alexander IV. was compelled by painful experiences to realise that although the Popes could turn the world upside down, they were often absolutely powerless in their own capital. Since 1252 the Government of Rome had been changed by the election as Senator of the Bolognese Brancaleone of the family of Andalò. This was the first time that an outsider had been made Senator in Rome, and he became, in effect, a sort of *Podestà*, whose office was to last for three years. Being a very shrewd and prudent man, and well knowing the turbulent nature of the Romans, he made his acceptance conditional upon the dispatch of the sons of some of the principal nobles to Bologna as hostages for his safety. He then assumed the high office and ruled with civil and military powers, almost as the president or dictator of an independent Republic. He was, however, surrounded, as was the case in other Communes, by a Major and Minor Council whose sittings were held at Aracœli. On great occasions a general Parliament was convoked. The guilds had been organised and the people armed under the command of Brancaleone, whose proceedings at the end of his term of office were to be submitted to a strict scrutiny.

This was the Government which Pope Alexander found in force in Rome when he arrived there in 1255. But Brancaleone's term of office was then approaching its end and a rebellion broke out against him, promoted by the nobles whom he had kept down and by the friends of the Church who could

ill brook a Republic headed by a man who had been Conrad's partisan and who continued to be favourable to the Empire. He was seized and imprisoned by the rebels and his life would have been in great danger from them had they not given their sons as hostages. He was therefore set free, and Emanuel de Madio, a Brescian, was elected as his successor. But upon this the people who favoured Brancaleone rose and drove out De Madio. Many nobles went into exile and the Pope himself had to take refuge at Viterbo (1257). Brancaleone was recalled, and then commenced to rule with great severity, while allying himself to Manfred. Alexander excommunicated him, but this left him unmoved. In 1258, however, he died of fever. His uncle, Castellano degli Andalò, to the great annoyance of the Pope, was elected his successor. The new Senator also sought to assure his personal safety by means of hostages, but he could not long successfully resist the war which the Pope and the nobles made on him. In 1259 a riot broke out, during which he was deposed and imprisoned and two Senators were nominated in his place.

Everything now seemed encouraging for the Pope and his friends. Manfred, however, was bravely following the course he had chosen, nor did he stop when Alexander, on the 5th of April, 1257, solemnly reconfirmed, from the Lateran, the excommunication already pronounced upon him in March, 1255. The Pope had neither the funds nor the troops needed to carry on the war efficiently. His attempts to obtain aid from foreign countries had failed. The King of England, Henry III., had declared himself adverse to the proposition of conquering the kingdom of Sicily for his son. Nor had the Pope's

proposals met with more success elsewhere. And Manfred, who had by force of arms subjugated the country, then decided upon a very bold step. Seizing as a pretext the false report of Conradin's death, he had himself proclaimed King and crowned in the cathedral of Palermo on the 10th of August, 1258.

He felt, at least for the moment, that he had obtained by arms the mastery over the kingdom in which Conradin, still a child, could in no way exercise authority. Nor was any danger likely to come from Germany. After the death of William of Holland, Imperial candidate and already elected King of the Romans, which had occurred on the 28th of January, 1256, the adversaries of the Hohenstaufens had split up into two parties, each supporting an opposing candidate : Richard of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. of England, and Alfonso of Castile. The very fact that two foreigners were proposed and supported in opposition to the legitimate heir of the House of Suabia shows what disorder reigned in Germany. But all this did not prevent the Pope and others from considering the attitude assumed by Manfred as that of a usurper. The confusion was, therefore, great on either side of the Alps.

In Italy everything seemed to indicate a rapid change. Mediæval society was falling to pieces, and giving place to something new. Political, commercial, industrial, and literary activity and prosperity seemed to be passing from the South to the Centre and North of the peninsula. The Communes, torn by factions, were tending towards transformation into lordships. In 1252, in Northern Italy, a Guelf League had been formed among them, and in the face of this the Ghibelline party, culminating in Manfred, and to which powerful lords such as Buoso

of Doara, the Marquis Pelavicino and Ezzelino da Romano had united themselves, was in process of reconstitution. Ezzelino was the most powerful, the boldest, and the most talented of them all, but violent and cruel to such a point as to make him, at times, appear a wild beast lusting for blood. His unbridled ambition acknowledged neither dangers nor obstacles and overrode all human and divine laws. Master of the Trevisan Marches, he extended his dominion over the cities of Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Feltre, Belluno, and Treviso, exterminating whoever opposed him. He wished to form, upon the ruins of mediæval society, a strong lordship, a powerful State, which was, in fact, the need of the new times. But no State could be solidly founded upon the blind extermination of all classes—nobles and people—and this seemed to be Ezzelino's method. And thus it came about that his very friends, such as Pelavicino and Buoso of Doara, abandoned him and went over to his enemies. Against him a veritable raising of bucklers took place. In September, 1259, matters came to a head in a sharp engagement. Ezzelino, defeated and wounded, was seized and thrown into prison, where he tore the bandages from his wounds and quickly died. Upon this there arose a universal cry of joy. It seemed as though humanity were freed of a poisonous, destructive monster. But a proof of the disorder of parties, and of how they shifted and became confused, is afforded by the fact that Buoso of Doara and Pelavicino had, while joining the Guelf League, at the same time declared themselves favourable to Manfred, heir to Frederick II., the adversary of the Pope and the head of the Ghibellines.

Another fact which demonstrates the strange dis-

order to which Italy was subject at that time is to be seen in the phenomenon of the flagellants, which appeared in Perugia and thence spread to Rome and over a great part of the peninsula. The souls of men seemed invaded by a sense of terror and impending doom. Numerous bands of devotees, naked to the waist, paraded the cities flagellating themselves till they bled, and invoking God's mercy on their sins. It was a contagion which seemed likely to be universally diffused. They sought to reconcile enemies and to induce the condemned, whom they liberated from prison, to give themselves to repentance. And it was on this occasion that, in Rome, Castellano degli Andalò was released from his imprisonment. The movement was attaining such proportions that the Governments were forced to curb it by the threat of severest punishments. So it came about that after 1261 no more was heard of it.

Manfred, ever chivalrous and ambitious, in opposition to the Pope, who had invited the English and was soon, as we shall see, to call the Angevins to Italy, represented, to a certain extent, the national party of independence. But he, like Frederick II., was adverse to the Communes and favourable to powerful oppressors such as Ezzelino. And of this the Pope took advantage. He excited the Barons of the Southern Kingdom to rebellion. They rose and made common cause with the German Imperial party against Manfred, who, having usurped Conradin's rights, now beheld the appearance of new enemies also from that quarter. He, therefore, placing reliance in the Saracens, ever faithful to him, sought to augment their numbers by inducing others to come from Africa ; and this gave the Pope a new

weapon against him. He also trusted his German troops, and invited more from Germany with the promise of high pay. But these were also foreigners, and disliked in Italy. Of all this the Popes, who yet themselves had invited foreigners and were about to do it again, knew admirably how to profit. They called Manfred a heretic, excommunicated him, and preached a Crusade against him.

The die was now cast and war was inevitable. It was necessary for Manfred, above all things, to augment his army and to seek new allies in Italy. After Ezzelino's downfall he had sought them in Central Italy. In Florence, upon the death of Frederick II., the Guelfs had risen and had driven out the Ghibellines. The result was a Government, called of the *Primo Popolo*, which armed the citizens, and, during a space of ten years greatly promoted the prosperity of the Commune. Manfred now began to encourage the adversaries of this Government within the city, many of whom conspired and brought exile upon themselves. They took refuge, together with others, in Ghibelline Siena, always inimical to Florence. There their number was increased by the arrival of other Ghibellines from neighbouring towns. Headed by the valiant Farinata degli Uberti, reinforced by German soldiers sent them by Manfred and united to the Sienese, they prepared to make war upon the popular Guelf Government of Florence. Each side made a supreme effort. In the battle of Montaperti, near the Arbia, which took place on the 4th of September, 1260, the Florentine army, which had been joined by partisans from all parts of Tuscany, was utterly defeated. The Ghibellines triumphed, the Guelfs were driven into exile, and Florence was

placed under the rule of Count Guido Novello, Lord of Poppi and representative of Manfred, who was now supreme in Central Italy.

But new and important changes, damaging to him, were now preparing. On the 25th of May, 1261, Alexander IV. died, and on the 4th of September a Frenchman, Urban IV., was consecrated, and decided on a step which was to prove disastrous to all, but especially to Southern Italy. The invitation to come and conquer Sicily which his predecessor had sent to England having proved useless, he turned to Charles of Anjou. Charles, brother to King Louis IX., who had proved his bravery in the Crusade, possessed the county of Anjou, while his wife Beatrice had brought him the county of Provence. He was then about forty-two, and therefore in his prime, ambitious, cruel, and unscrupulous, and he at once most willingly undertook the difficult enterprise. King Louis, who was very religious and had worn himself out and exhausted his finances in the Crusade, looked upon this project as an unjust aggression against which his honest conscience rebelled. Therefore no help could be expected from him. Charles lacked men and money, but not audacity. His ambitious wife pawned her jewels; the Pope showed himself most ready to back him with his moral authority, and to help him to contract debts—ready, too, to put the possessions of the Church at his disposal. Charles now decided not to draw back, but to risk all for all.

The mere fact that the Pope was seconding the enterprise with such ardour exercised a great influence upon the policy of all Italy. The Guelfs of Tuscany lifted their heads, and Count Guido found himself in sorry plight in Florence, which he was

soon obliged to abandon. In Rome there was a sharp dispute over the nomination of the Senator. The Guelfs elected Richard of Cornwall, and the Ghibellines, without more ado, elected Manfred. It was the first time that a Sovereign offered himself as Senator of Rome. Urban IV. naturally opposed such a choice, especially the election of Manfred. Upon this the Guelfs thought well to elect Charles of Anjou, judging that the Pope, who was so favourable to him, could not object. But Urban IV., exactly because he wished to see Charles King of Naples, could in no way also desire him as Senator of Rome, for he would then have been too much in his hands. He complained not only of their having elected Charles without first asking his consent, but also of Charles's acquiescence, and insisted that he should promise to resign the office as soon as he had conquered the Southern Kingdom. The Popes, who had raised a storm in order to free themselves from the Suabians, would certainly not resign themselves to being at the mercy of the Angevins. It would have been falling from the frying-pan into the fire. In this lay the germ of future complications which Charles's character would inevitably bring forth. Meanwhile, in May, 1264, on the Capitol, a representative assumed in his name the title and office of Senator.

On the 2nd of October, Urban IV. died, and on the 15th of February, 1265, followed the consecration of Clement IV., a Provençal, and therefore a subject of Charles, whom he had known at the French Court and whose military valour he trusted highly. Clement persuaded King Louis to allow the Crusade against Manfred to be preached within his dominions. He accorded to the Papal Legate in France the faculty

of collecting the tithes for Charles's benefit, conceded indulgences of 100 days to those who should enlist in the invading army, and requested the Italian bankers to open large credits in favour of the enterprise. Those who most generously supported him were the Guelf bankers of Florence. The coming of Charles was for them a good political investment, for he helped them to combat the Ghibellines, to upset their government in the city and to substitute it by another. Having, moreover, great faith (nor were they mistaken) in the success of Charles's undertaking, they managed to make of it a most profitable piece of business by advancing him large sums of money with a well-guaranteed and high rate of interest. They also obtained wide privileges in the Southern Kingdom, whose commerce, by these means, passed entirely into their hands.

Meanwhile Manfred was preparing for war with feverish activity, and collecting men and money. He rallied round him the nobles who were, or whom he believed to be, faithful to his cause, and made every effort to augment his forces. At the same time, however, the Pope's agents were in the Southern provinces, preaching the Crusade against him as an excommunicated heretic. The nobles were led to hope that those laws by which Frederick II. had sought to curb them would be abolished, and meanwhile they were released from their oath of fealty. Every effort was made to spread disorder and distrust and to create a void round Manfred, who, in order to fight the invader, was forced to rely principally upon Germans and Mahometans. He established his headquarters at Capua, where he awaited the advance of the enemy. He had collected a numerous fleet of Sicilian, Neapolitan, and Pisan vessels, which

cruised between Sardinia, Corsica, and the coast of the peninsula to prevent a landing. Also at the mouth of the Tiber, by means of embankments and other works, an attempt had been made to prevent the advance of French ships up the river. But all this was of no avail. Charles, after having pushed forward his army by the land route, at the end of April, 1265, embarked at Marseilles with 1,000 horsemen, but without horses, and set sail for the Roman seaboard. He advanced intrepidly, urged on by his natural bravery and by the faith he felt in the success of an enterprise blessed by the Pope, and he now had partisans in various parts of Italy. Fortune seemed to favour him. A storm had, in fact, obliged Manfred's vessels to take to the open sea for fear of being wrecked on the coast, and Charles, profiting by it, attempted a landing in the face of all dangers. The wind separated him from his other ships and drove him towards land; and he, throwing himself alone into a boat, landed on the coast not far from the Tiber. Here he was enthusiastically received by his Guelf friends, who conducted him to the monastery of St. Paul without the walls, which he entered on the 21st of May, 1265.

Very soon his flotilla, from which he had been separated by the storm, was able to sail up the Tiber, and then, on the 23rd of the same month, Charles made his solemn entry into Rome, accompanied by his 1,000 men, and was joyfully received by the clergy, the nobles, and the people. On the 29th, before the high altar of the Lateran basilica, some of the Cardinals gave him the provisional investiture of the kingdom, after reading out and making him swear to the conditions. He received the kingdom as a fief from the Church; was forbidden to extend

his dominion further on the peninsula or in Germany (from which country Italy was to be permanently separated); and was to pay annual tribute to the Church, within whose territory he could never hold any possessions. On the 21st of June, in the church of Aracœli on the Capitol, he assumed the office of Senator, and began at once, without waiting for definite investiture and without having yet obtained material possession of the kingdom, to act as a veritable Sovereign. On the 14th of October, in his quality of Senator, he decreed the foundation of the Roman University, in order to leave behind him a lasting memory of the office which he had promised to abandon.

As we have already stated, Charles had been rejoined by his 1,000 horsemen; but he had neither horses nor funds. An army, 30,000 strong, was advancing from Provence; but it was still very distant and also unprovided with money. It would have to traverse the whole length of Italy, and might be stopped on the way by the Ghibellines, who were Manfred's partisans. Still, since the death of Frederick II., and notwithstanding the defeat of Montaperti, the Guelf Communes had taken heart and they were favourable to Charles. For this reason his army was able to proceed not only without encountering obstacles, but even increasing in numbers as it went along. It was, in fact, among others, joined by 400 Florentine men-at-arms, who conducted themselves later on with much bravery. Meanwhile, from Perugia, the Pope was making every effort to assist the King in all ways, even to the obtaining of money. For this purpose he corresponded with bankers, especially the Florentine, and mortgaged the Church lands. The mendicant friars and other

agents of his continued more actively than ever to preach a Crusade against Manfred, who now saw that many of his partisans were wavering or altogether deserting him. He should have taken the bold step of advancing towards Rome and have sought to possess himself of the person of Charles before the latter had been joined by his army, which daily drew nearer. More than once, in fact, did Manfred advance, but he was always obliged to retreat. Lack of faith in his Barons, the danger of their fomenting rebellion in his rear, and the favour Charles enjoyed in Rome, paralysed his movements.

Meanwhile, on the 6th of January, 1266, even before the arrival of his army, but with the Pope's consent, Charles and his wife Beatrice were solemnly crowned by the Cardinal Archbishop of Albano, in St. Peter's —an honour reserved till then for Popes and Emperors alone. Very soon, after a fatiguing seven months' march, the army which had started from Provence arrived, not only weary and exhausted but denuded of funds. No time could be lost and all hope centred in the war.

Manfred's circumstances were becoming worse every day. He began to feel that the ground was giving way under his feet. He had entrusted the defence of Ceprano and S. Germano to those nobles whom he believed most trustworthy, and they instead, treacherously or out of weakness, abandoned them to his foe. Such being the condition of things, he also could only hope in the result of the battle that was imminent, and which it suited him also to hurry on by every means. Deluding himself into the belief that at any moment he might receive reinforcements of men from the Abruzzi and Calabria and provisions from Apulia, he advanced towards Benevento. He

broke up his army, which had been joined by 1,000 Ghibellines from Lombardy and Tuscany, into three divisions. His hope was that when once battle was engaged, all, even the most wavering, would at least be true to their honour as soldiers.

On the 20th of January, 1266, Charles's army, augmented by some Apulian exiles, especially those who had always been opposed to Frederick II. and had conspired against him, quitted Rome and marched on Benevento. By the 26th of February, it had reached a height to the south-west of the town. There his army, like that of Manfred, was split into three divisions. It has been calculated that, on either side, 25,000 armed men were engaged. At the very commencement of the fray Manfred's soldiers charged with such impetuosity that the French began to retreat. But at that moment Charles intervened with the reserves which had remained hidden. And this decided the day. It was then that the most faithless of the nobles deserted Manfred, who, when he saw that all was lost, cast off the insignia of royalty, and, putting on his helmet of battle, threw himself into the midst of his enemies to seek the honourable death which soon was his. He was then thirty-three years old and Charles was forty-six.

Manfred's army retreated in confusion, chased and driven in the direction of Benevento, which was sacked. The slaughter was very great. On the same day Charles wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he said that the bodies of the dead literally covered the ground ("quod celant campum corpora occisorum"). The booty, of which a part went to the Pope, was enormous. Many of Manfred's superior officers were made prisoners. After two days of useless search, his body, deformed by wounds, was at last found. At

the sight of it in such a condition, not only did his most faithful followers weep, but even the French, admiring his valour, were moved and desired to give him honourable Christian burial. But Charles, devoid alike of generosity or pity, forbade it, saying that an excommunicated man should not rest in consecrated soil. He was therefore left lying close to the bridge near Benevento. Thereupon each soldier threw a stone upon the corpse until a heap was formed, resembling the sepulture sometimes given to heroes of old. But even this repose was denied to him. Archbishop Pignatelli, of Capua, affirming that he acted by the Pope's order (but this is not certain), caused the body to be disinterred and cast beyond the border, towards Ceprano, where it remained, exposed to wind and rain, near the river Liri, or green river as it is called by Dante when he deplores the insult offered to Manfred.

After announcing the victory to the Pope, Charles at once commenced to act with cruel violence. Helena, Manfred's young wife, was cast into prison, where she died in 1271, at the age of twenty-nine. In prison, too, did Manfred's four sons languish and die. The Emperor, Henry VI., Manfred's grandfather, had, with inhuman cruelty, exterminated the Norman dynasty to which he was related, by keeping Sibilla, Tancred's widow, together with her children, imprisoned and in chains in the Castle of Caltabellotta. And it now seemed as though Charles, with his equally ferocious and inhuman cruelty, had come to avenge them by putting an end to the Suabian House in Italy. There now remained only Conradin, who was destined to become another hapless victim.

CHAPTER IV

CONRADIN AND THE BATTLE OF TAGLIACOZZO—HIS DEFEAT AND EXECUTION—THE TRIUMPH OF CHARLES OF ANJOU

(1267–1278)

CHARLES was now confronted by new difficulties. His need of money, his innate cruelty, and his unbridled ambition, which seemed unsatisfied by the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily, soon resulted in making of him an insupportable tyrant. Nor were the Pope's continual admonitions and counsels of moderation sufficient to curb him. Soon, therefore, discontent showed itself, especially in Sicily, not only because the island was oppressed by exorbitant taxation, by arbitrary measures and by tyranny, but also because Charles made it clear that he did not intend to abide for long in Palermo and that he was inclined towards transferring the capital definitely to Naples—a project which he carried out later on.

In the centre of Tuscany, at Florence, the Ghibellines had been driven out after the battle of Benevento; their Government was fallen and Count Guido Novello had fled (November 11, 1266). The

Guelfs had triumphed and the *Arti Maggiori*, already enriched by industry and trade, had, as we have already noted, made large profits out of the coming of the French. They proceeded to reconstitute the popular Government, which, although called to life again in consequence of Charles's advent, did not please either him or the Pope. And this was bound, sooner or later, to be a fresh cause of trouble. On the other hand, Pisa and Siena were still Ghibelline and became the refuge of all the Ghibellines of Tuscany who were inimical to the Angevins and to the Pope, and who placed all their hopes in Conradin.

For this reason Clement IV., presuming during the interregnum to act as Emperor in Italy, nominated Charles "peacemaker" and Imperial Vicar for Tuscany, charging him with the duties of re-establishing order in Florence and of bringing all Tuscany over to the Guelf side. Charles then sent another 100 horsemen to Florence, and the city gave him the office of *Podestà* for six years. This office was exercised in his name by Giordano dell' Isola, who also commanded the French horsemen. His business was to watch the Ghibellines, who had already summoned Conradin, and to be ready, in case he should come, to stop him. It was known that his partisans in the Southern Kingdom, who were increasing in number, desired his presence and awaited him. In Rome, too, the Ghibelline party had taken heart and had elected as Senator Henry of Castile, a son of Ferdinand III. and a most ambitious man, who, after having fought with valour against the Moors in Spain, had entered the service of the Sovereign of Tunis. From there he had come to Italy with a few followers and much money, and

had aided Charles in his Sicilian enterprise by lending him considerable sums. But Charles not only had omitted to return the loans, but had at once opposed him when he realised his project of occupying Sardinia. In consequence of this Henry, who had been his friend, was now his declared enemy, and the abettor of those who had summoned Conradin.

There were thus many who now called for Conradin, and their numbers increased in proportion to the increase of malcontents under the Angevin rule. Strange indeed was the fate of Italy at this period. All who were discontented with the French invasion should have been opposed to the Pope who had brought it about, but though, from a certain point of view, they might have been called the national party, they now invoked Conradin as their leader and defender. And Conradin, who was a German and aspired to the Empire in Germany, was called upon to combat the Angevins as though he were the enemy of strangers and bound to free Italy of them. The political characters of Pope and Emperor appeared strangely inverted. And we shall see that fresh events continued more and more to increase this confusion until, under Henry VII., it was for a moment possible to entertain the illusion that a German Emperor could really be the representative in Italy of a national party. Meanwhile Conradin, then barely fifteen, courageously accepted the invitation and sought to collect as many men as possible. On the 21st of October, 1267, he had crossed the Alps and entered Verona with 3,000 men (some writers make the number greater). From the 21st of January till the 22nd of March, 1268, he remained in Pavia. On the 7th of April he entered Pisa, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm by that consis-

tently Ghibelline city. Soon his army, which had traversed Italy without difficulty, and had grown larger as it proceeded, joined him. The Pope, at Viterbo, was much perturbed by all this, and implored Charles to put aside, for the moment, all thought of Tuscan affairs and make ready to defend the Southern Kingdom. He excommunicated Conradin and all his followers and partisans, threatened to place Rome, which seemed inclined to second him, under interdict, and granted to Charles the faculty of resuming the office of Senator (which he had previously obliged him to resign), for a period of six years. Meanwhile from Rome Galvano Lancia and Henry of Castile, both ardent partisans of Conradin, urged his advance; and he left Pisa for Siena on the 15th of June. At Siena he halted for some days, and, on the 25th of the same month, some of his troops defeated one of Charles' Marshals who had advanced thither in the hope of driving him back. Finally, on the 24th of July, 1268, Conradin entered Trastevere, crossed the bridge of St. Angelo, and made his solemn entry into the city, where he was received with much honour by the Ghibelline leaders and the Southern exiles, who conducted him to the Capitol and acclaimed him Emperor. On the 18th of August he marched out of Rome with his army, and on the 23rd met that of Charles at Alba Fucenzio, near the Salto River and the Fucino Lake, and six miles distant from Tagliacozzo, which gave its name to the battle. The two armies were separated by the river. Conradin's, which was the larger, numbered about 5,000 men-at-arms, while Charles had but 3,000 (some say 4,000). His force was, however, far more homogeneous than that of Conradin, which was made up of

very various elements. Shortly before the battle the French had the good luck of being unexpectedly reinforced by the arrival of Alard de Valery, Constable of Champagne and Chamberlain of France, one of the bravest captains of his time, who had just returned from the Holy Land with 100 lances. He played an important part in the ensuing battle. Seeing the disparity of numbers, he advised that 800 horsemen should lie hidden behind a hill until, at an opportune moment, they should be ready to charge the enemy suddenly and throw him into confusion.

Conradin's troops, like the French, were split up into two divisions. The first was composed of Spaniards under Henry of Castile, Lombards under Galvano Lancia, and Tuscans under Gherardo of Donoratico. The second was composed of Germans under the Duke of Austria, with whom was Conradin in person. After crossing the river, Henry of Castile assaulted the French with such impetuosity that he broke up their first division. The second then came to the rescue and was attacked by the Germans, and then the *mêlée* became general. The French were very soon defeated and took to flight. Upon this, Conradin's men started in pursuit and began a disorderly plundering of the camp. This was the moment awaited by Valery, who lay in ambush with Charles and the reserve of 800 horsemen, and he then gave the order to attack. His men were able thus to assault a disordered enemy, and the fate of the battle was completely changed. Conradin's army was utterly routed and Charles obtained a complete victory. To the Pope he wrote that the dead were so numerous that those of the battle of Benevento seemed nought in comparison. Many prisoners were made, and, as usual, Charles treated them with

the utmost cruelty. Not a few of them were mutilated, and some were even burnt alive.

Conradin, with the few followers he was able to collect out of the disorder, sought to put himself in safety. On the 28th of August he entered Rome with about 500 lances. But here he found matters entirely altered. Diffidence and aversion towards him had taken the place of the enthusiasm with which he had so recently been received. He was no longer safe there, and some of his followers abandoned him. Upon this he too decided to fly further, and, on the 31st, he departed with the few who in his misfortunes had remained faithful. He pushed on into the Maremma, and, unrecognised, entered the township of Astura, on the sea-shore. He hoped to be able to embark there and repair to Pisa. But John Frangipane, lord of the castle, either suspecting or having been warned, overtook him by sea just as he had cast off, made him prisoner together with his companions and handed them all over to Charles's men. They were then conducted to Palestrina, where other prisoners were also collected, and Charles, who was then quite near, at Gennazzano, proceeded to exercise his cruelty upon them. Among the companions of Conradin who were now captives there were many illustrious personages, one of them being Henry of Castile, who had been taken on the field of battle. Especially did Charles hate Galvano Lancia, who had fought both at Benevento and Tagliacozzo, who had accompanied Conradin to Astura, and had been taken with him. Charles first caused his son to be slaughtered before his eyes and then hanged him. He now meant to get rid of Conradin at all costs. But here he had to deal with the legitimate heir to a throne which had been

violently usurped and who had sought to regain it by force of arms. To have put him to death without further ado would have been a scandalous enormity. He sought therefore to give legality to his crime by appointing a sort of tribunal nominated by himself, which, however, was only to pronounce a death sentence. The Protonotary, Robert of Bari, acted as prosecutor, and demanded that Conradin should be condemned. On hearing this the judge, Guy of Suzzara, made open opposition and was seconded by one other, while the rest remained silent; and Charles, assuming silence to mean consent, pronounced sentence of death on Conradin and twelve others. Henry of Castile alone, owing to his relationship to the King, was spared, but for many years he languished in prison. Conradin, his true friend Frederick of Austria and his other companions, were condemned to lose their heads on the market-place of Naples.

News of the sentence was taken to Conradin in prison while he was playing chess with Frederick of Austria. Early in the morning of the 29th they dictated their wills, and, soon after, Conradin, ascending the scaffold, laid his head upon the block. Frederick of Austria, Gherardo Donoratico, and the others died in the same manner. But, to add ignominy to the execution of those Barons of the kingdom, who were condemned as traitors, they were instead hanged on the same day by the Capuan Gate. Uninterrupted slaughter continued all over the Southern Provinces, and more especially in Sicily, where Charles was universally hated. But everything seemed, at present, in his favour.

The House of Suabia was now rapidly disappearing. All the legitimate children of Frederick II. were dead with the exception of Margaret, who died

two years after Conradin, in 1270, leaving a son who took the name of Frederick III., King of Italy and Jerusalem, but who never became redoubtable, and, at his death, left no lasting memory. Enzo, natural son of Frederick II., ended his days in 1273, after twenty-three years of imprisonment at Bologna. Conrad of Antioch, another natural son, had been taken prisoner in Sicily by Guy de Montfort, blinded, mutilated, and then executed. On the 29th of November, 1268, a month after Conradin's death, Clement IV. followed him to the grave, and the vacancy of the Pontifical throne, which lasted for three years, was all to the advantage of Charles, whose ambition and cruelty were unchecked.

Above all, he now aimed at the extermination of his adversaries, and for this purpose he gave free rein to the revengefulness of his partisans. The policy he followed in the South was absolutely contrary to that of the Normans and Frederick II. Their tolerance was now succeeded by intolerance for everything that was not Catholic and French. And in the kingdom this soon became a cause of decay which, although interrupted by some periods of calm, and even of momentary brilliance, went on increasing. Charles now threw himself with ardour into a struggle with the Saracens, who had always been valiant in their defence of the Suabians, and who now, after six months' resistance, were compelled to capitulate. In their case Charles was indulgent, merely dispersing them over various parts of the kingdom, in the hope of making of them faithful servants. He was constantly in straits for money to pay his numerous debts, especially to the Florentines, whom he had, as we have already noted, by the granting of many privileges, rendered masters of the kingdom's trade. He also speculated on his

own account, making, among other things, a monopoly of wheat, to the enormous detriment of the country, which was soon exhausted.

Charles of Anjou nourished the most ambitious projects. Not content with ruling the kingdom, he wished, like Frederick II., to exercise authority over the whole of Italy. Placing himself at the head of the Guelf party, by means of his Senatorial office he made his power felt in Rome; in Tuscany, where, as Imperial Vicar nominated by the Pope, he could send *Podestà* of his own choosing, he spared no effort to strengthen his party. In Lombardy he succeeded in subjugating some towns, and was even more successful in Piedmont, where, since his first coming to Italy, several cities had submitted to his authority and others were now doing likewise.

But this did not satisfy him. As successor to the Normans in Italy he meditated new conquests, even in Africa and the East. His brother, King Louis IX., full of sincere religious zeal, now desired to recommence the Crusade, and Charles was bound to second him to his utmost. As, however, the fate of the Holy Sepulchre weighed little with him, he began by persuading his brother to commence the enterprise by attacking the Infidels in Africa—a policy which would be advantageous to himself. Tunis, in fact, which was a tributary of Sicily, had long ceased to pay its dues. This would be a good occasion to compel it to settle accounts. The French King agreed and moved with an army towards the African coast, where Charles was to join him with his troops. Charles did not long delay his departure, but on joining his brother he found the French forces more than decimated by a cruel epidemic, which even attacked King Louis and killed him in 1270. The

direction of the campaign was then entrusted solely to Charles, and he carried on the war with great energy and concluded peace in a manner most profitable to himself. Tunis was to pay five years' arrears of tribute and continue in the future to pay double the yearly sum, besides bearing the cost of the war. The peace then stipulated for fifteen years sanctioned several commercial conditions favourable to Charles. Returning from this expedition, the fleet bearing the army was overtaken by a great storm. And even by this Charles found means to profit, for in the shipwreck he possessed himself of the plunder that belonged to the friends and allies who had taken part in the war.

The thoughts of Charles of Anjou now turned towards the Empire of Constantinople. At the time of the fourth Crusade, chiefly owing to the efforts of the Venetians, who reaped much political and commercial advantage therefrom, Baldwin of Flanders had been placed there upon the throne and the Greek Empire had been transformed into a Latin one. The new Emperor had been quickly succeeded by Baldwin II., in his turn driven out by Michael Paleologos, who, with the help of the Genoese, the foes of the Venetians, succeeded in making himself master of Constantinople and in re-establishing the Byzantine Empire (1261). Baldwin II. then wandered forth, asking aid from all, even from Charles. The latter at once showed himself favourably disposed, and sought to replace him on the throne after he had received Baldwin's promise of ceding to him the kingdom of Thessalonika and the Principality of Achaia, which comprised the Peloponnesus. Furthermore, Charles had even been induced to hope that, in the case of Baldwin's dynasty coming to an end,

the succession to the throne of Constantinople would be his. Meanwhile Charles had betrothed his daughter to Philip, Baldwin's sole heir, and was attempting to obtain a more or less direct dominion over Albania. All this proves how boundless his projects had become since he had met with so much good fortune and since both the Western Imperial throne and that of the Church had become vacant. But such a state of things could not last for long.

In September, 1271, at Viterbo, the election of a new Pope was in process. And Charles, lately returned from Tunis, was then at Rome, whither he had hastened with the purpose of watching the election, which, owing to discord between the Cardinals of the French party and those of the Italian (apparently the stronger), was proceeding very slowly. On account of this procrastination the people were so incensed that they unroofed the Archbishop's palace, where the Conclave was sitting. These disorders were increased by a really brutal act. Together with Charles, Guy of Montfort, his vicar in Tuscany, was also at Viterbo. Guy had been wounded in England at the battle of Evesham (3rd of August, 1265), fought in defence of English liberties. In this battle his father, son of the conqueror of the Albigenses, who had succeeded to the earldom of Leicester, was killed and his body brutally insulted. It now happened that Guy, in a church of Viterbo, met Henry of Cornwall, nephew to the King of England. At the sight of him Guy was seized with such fury against the guiltless youth that, during the celebration of Mass, in the presence of Charles and of the Cardinals, he murdered him before the altar and dragged him by the hair to the outer steps of the church. The brutal act naturally caused much scandal : Guy was forced to fly

and Charles began a trial against him, which, given the character of the times and especially of the Angevin King and his followers, had no serious consequences.

On the 1st of September, 1271, in the midst of these tumults, Gregory X. (1271–1276), a member of the Visconti family of Piacenza, was elected Pope against the will of Charles, who desired the election of a Frenchman. On the 1st of January, 1272, the new Pope arrived at Brindisi from Syria, where he was at the time of his election, and on the 13th of March he entered Rome. He was a peaceful and quiet man, but no Pope could be pleased by Charles's ambitious policy, which was contrary to the interests of the Church and to the compact explicitly made with him when he was invited to Italy. One of the first signs of this was Gregory's clearly expressed approval of the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg as King of the Romans, which took place on the 1st of October, 1273. It is certain that this event could in no way have been pleasing to Charles. The election as King of the Romans was the first step towards Empire and brought with it necessarily the cessation of the viceroyalty over Tuscany accorded to Charles by the Church. And with it must also cease the authority which he exercised over many Communes in Piedmont and Lombardy, where, in fact, Rudolf soon reestablished an Imperial Vicar.

But besides this Gregory had, since the commencement of his Pontificate, sought in Florence and elsewhere to reconcile the Guelfs and Ghibellines—a policy by no means advantageous to Charles. At Bologna the Pope exerted himself to bring about harmony between the Lambertazzi and the Geremei, who waged bloody war with one another, and between

the Torriani and the Visconti at Milan, where the latter had driven the former out of the city. In 1273, on his way to Lyons, where he had convoked a Council for 1274, the Pope, accompanied by King Charles, who was still Vicar in Tuscany, halted at Florence on the 18th of June. While Charles seconded the Guelfs against the Ghibellines by every possible means the Pope, instead, continued to attempt their reconciliation. And although he obtained no results and ended by placing the restless city under interdict, yet his attempt had served to confirm Charles in his suspicion that the Papal policy towards himself was rapidly changing. Another proof of this was afforded during the Council which began on the 7th of May with the object of promoting a new Crusade. Baldwin II., who accompanied Pope Gregory X., was doing all he could to persuade the latter to favour his reinstatement to the throne of Constantinople, which, as we have already noted, was desired also by Charles. But Gregory instead entered into an agreement with Paleologos, who had promised that he would promote the union of the Eastern Church with the Western, and by this means sought to deprive Baldwin of all hope of aid from the Pope. After all this, in 1275, Gregory left Lyons, and in October of the same year, at Lausanne, came to an agreement also with Rudolf, whom he promised to crown Emperor. And Rudolf, renouncing all rights to the kingdom of Sicily, recognised King Charles as Legate of the Church in that kingdom and confirmed all the privileges conceded to the Church by Otho IV. and Frederick II. In December Gregory was in the neighbourhood of Florence, but on account of the interdict pronounced upon the city did not wish to enter its gates. But the Arno was in flood and the

only means of crossing it was by the bridges within the city. He therefore entered Florence, suspending the interdict during his passage and renewing it as soon as he had departed. On the 10th of January, 1276, he died at Arezzo. His death could not have been displeasing to Charles, who always hoped for a Pope favourable to himself. In a single year three were elected, one after the other—Innocent V., Hadrian V., and John XXI., who died on the 20th of May, 1277. After a vacancy of six months Nicholas III., a member of the Orsini family, was elected. He was most averse to Charles, who now saw a general reaction against the Guelfs and against himself growing up all over Italy. This was especially the case in Piedmont, at Genoa, and in Lombardy, where, in Milan, the domination of the Visconti had succeeded that of the Guelf Torriani (1277). At Verona the Scala family ruled. In Romagna Guy of Montefeltro had become the terror of the Guelfs. Only in Tuscany, and particularly at Florence, where the financial interests of the *Arti Maggiori* were still bound up with the Angevin cause, were the Guelfs still predominant.

It was this general reaction which had gained the day at the Conclave and brought about the election of Nicholas III., who at once declared himself favourable to Rudolf. And Rudolf, in 1278, conceded to him Romagna, the Pentapolis, the Marches of Ancona, Camerino, and the Duchies of Spoleto and Bertinoro. Charles was necessarily obliged to resign the authority he had usurped in Romagna, the viceroyalty of Tuscany, and also the office of Senator in Rome, for just at that time the period of ten years for which it had been granted to him came to an end. And the Pope, authorised thereto by the Roman Commune,

caused it to be decreed in the Constitution that henceforth no foreigner should be elected Senator. Nicholas III., moreover, made it clear that he opposed the project which Charles, for his own ambitious ends, nourished against Paleologos and in favour of Baldwin. All this created a very inimical feeling towards the King, but his greatest and most imminent danger came from another quarter.

CHAPTER V

THE INSURRECTION AND WAR OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS—CELESTINE V. AND BONIFACE VIII. —THE PEACE OF CALTABELLOTTA

(1277–1302)

CONSTANCE, Manfred's daughter, was the wife of that Peter of Aragon who, just then, had ascended the Spanish throne. Spain, divided into several States, was in part occupied by the Moors, and had become warlike from its continual conflicts with them. Peter, who wore the crowns of Aragon, Catalonia, and of Barcelona, conquered Valencia and Majorca from the Moors. Naturally valiant and ambitious, he was continually spurred on by his wife, who longed to avenge her father's death and the insults heaped on his corpse by Charles after he had killed him in battle. And Peter, who, by this alliance, believed himself to have certain rights to the crown of Sicily, which had been forcibly usurped, began to give ear to the proposals made to him by the nobles of the island, where discontent was daily increased by the bad and ever more unsupportable rule of Charles.

First among the nobles who were impatiently awaiting the moment when they could rebel were

Roger Loria, born at Scalea in Calabria, who became later on the greatest Admiral of his times, and John, born and educated in Salerno, but called "of Procida" because he held a fief in that island. A most learned man and a doctor of much reputation, John had been a sturdy partisan of Conradin. After the battle of Tagliacozzo he had repaired to Spain, to the Court of Queen Constance, in order to conspire with her against Charles of Anjou, and he also endeavoured to come into closer relation with Paleologos, the natural adversary of Charles, who was preparing armed intervention in Baldwin's favour.

To all this was added, in 1277, the election to the Papacy of Nicholas III., an Orsini, ambitious and enterprising, who, upon being informed of the plots forming against Charles, approved of them. And in order to render the Florentines less averse to this line of policy, the Pope sent his nephew, Cardinal Latino, to Florence with the mission of making peace between Ghibellines and Guelfs and of preventing the government of the Commune from remaining exclusively in the hands of the latter. The Cardinal entered Florence in 1279, concluded an arrangement, and distributed the offices among members of both parties.

But the condition of things remained practically unaltered, for very soon the Guelfs were again predominant in Florence. Nor was any real change effected by the coming to Tuscany of an Imperial Viceroy, who, sent by Rudolf and favoured by the Pope, took up his residence, as was usual, in the Castle of St. Miniato al Tedesco. He too was obliged to depart without having concluded anything.

Meanwhile, on the 22nd of August, 1280, Pope Nicholas III. died at Soriano, and at once a violent

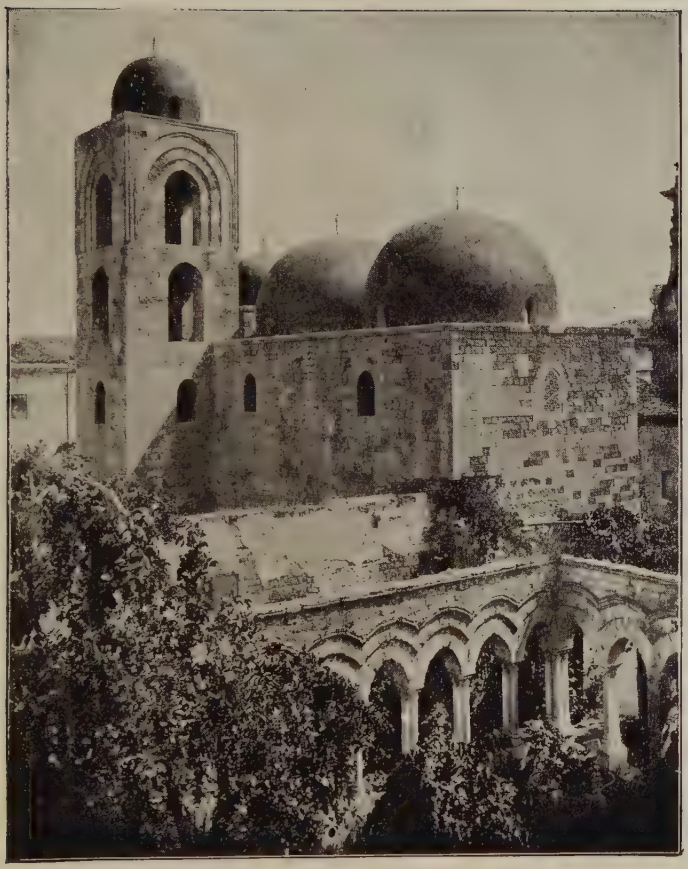
tumult broke out in Rome between the Italian and French parties. Charles hurried to Viterbo, to obtain, even by force, a Pope of his own choosing. To this end he stirred up a riot, which gave his friends an excuse for seizing upon the government of the Commune, changing the *Podestà*, and assuming guard over the Conclave, from which they excluded two Cardinals of the Orsini family.

Thus, on the 22nd of February, 1281, the election of Martin V., a Frenchman and entirely devoted to Charles, was effected, and he initiated a policy which was directly contrary to that of Nicholas III. He nominated several French Cardinals and reinstated Charles as Senator in Rome (April 29, 1281) for the whole duration of his Pontificate. And Charles, now feeling secure, threw himself with ardour into the preparations for his Eastern campaign. He had already collected a large army composed of 12,000 horsemen and a still greater number of foot, of which a portion was on the point of starting with the Pope's approval. But at this very moment, as a bolt from the blue, came the news that a violent insurrection had broken out at Palermo. This was the revolution, well known under the name of the Sicilian Vespers, which destroyed all the ambitious designs of the Angevin King. The military preparations for the Eastern enterprise had necessarily caused an increase of taxation and acts of overbearance, and, consequently, had increased the already smouldering discontent of the islanders. Thus the revolt meditated by the nobles broke forth suddenly at Palermo by popular impulse.

In that city, in addition to the general discontent, there was a feeling of special irritation against Charles because he continually resided at Naples with the evi-

dent intention of transferring the capital thither, and even the viceroy whom he had nominated for Sicily had been sent to Messina. At this moment of extraordinary excitement the insulting act of a French soldier who attempted to caress a Sicilian woman was sufficient to cause the violent outbreak of revolution which occurred at the hour of Vespers on the 21st of March, 1282. It began at Palermo with a fierce massacre of the French soldiers, and thence spread rapidly all over the island. The principal cities rose, organised themselves as Communes, and formed a Confederation. Very soon, however, they perceived that a sure and decided unity of command was necessary, and that the island was not strong enough to resist for long single-handed against so formidable an army as that which Charles had gathered together, composed of French, Italian, and Saracen soldiers, and which, moreover, was expecting reinforcements from France, Provence, and from the Guelfs of Central Italy. All this brought as a consequence that the revolution, which had been a spontaneous outburst of popular feeling, fell again into the hands of the nobles, who invited Peter of Aragon to come to the island with his own troops to assume the government and with it the command of the Sicilian forces.

Peter of Aragon, who had long awaited the summons, had, in the meanwhile, prepared an expedition against Tunis. He hoped to make himself master of that country through the treachery of the Spanish mercenaries who were in service there and of the Governor of Constantine, to whom he had promised a portion of the lands he proposed to conquer. He also thought that, once in Tunis with his army, he would be ready, in any eventuality, to hasten to



SAN GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, PALERMO, THE SCENE OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

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Sicily. On receiving news of the revolution at Palermo, he hurried on his military preparations and started on the 3rd of June, 1282, for Tunis. But on arriving there he found that the plot had been discovered and that the Governor of Constantine had been killed, so that the intended enterprise might be considered a failure. Therefore, having concluded an agreement with the Sicilian nobles, he quitted Tunis, and on the 30th of August, after a five-days' crossing, landed at Trapani. Thence, on the 4th of September, he marched to Palermo, where, in the presence of a Parliament composed of nobles and citizens, he was acclaimed King of Sicily under promise of respecting the liberties which the people had enjoyed during the reign of William the Good. Before leaving Spain he had made his will, by which he left the Regency to the Queen with the assistance of John of Procida. In case the King died, the Spanish succession was to pass to his son, Alfonso.

Meanwhile Charles, on receiving the unexpected news of the Palermo revolution, not only kept the army which he had collected for the Eastern expedition in readiness to cross the Straits, but sent his son, Charles the Lame, Prince of Salerno, to Provence and France to request and borrow men and arms. He also sent messengers for the same purpose to Central and Northern Italy. Highly incensed, as can well be believed, he wished to make a supreme effort to master the rebellion and drive back those who had come to aid it. Martin IV. made every effort to assist him by blessings, threats, excommunications, and such money as he was able to procure. Already, in July, the army collected in Calabria numbered 22,000 horsemen, 60,000 foot, and from 150 to 200 war and transport vessels. Very soon skirmishing

began in the island, and, at first, the French had the advantage. But little by little the resistance offered by the people of Messina increased till it became formidable, and, in a general assault, the French were driven back. This event greatly encouraged the Sicilians and terrified the Angevin party. To this was added the news that Peter of Aragon, with part of his army, was approaching the city, which received still greater encouragement by the arrival of Nicholas Palizzo and Andrew of Procida, a relation—some say the son—of John. It was now the month of October, during which bad weather in the Straits made communication between the island and the Continent more difficult. All this finally induced King Charles to withdraw from the island and establish his winter quarters in Calabria.

But even then the sharp struggle did not cease. Charles challenged Peter to single combat, but the encounter never took place. Shortly after, in the waters of Malta, the Angevin fleet met the combined Sicilian and Spanish fleet under the command of Roger Loria, and on the 8th of June, 1283, was defeated and lost half its vessels. This was soon followed by a second and more important battle, fought in the Bay of Naples, when Roger Loria covered himself with glory. On the 5th of June, 1284, he attacked the enemy, defeated him, and made a prisoner of Charles the Lame, who had fought most bravely. King Charles, without losing heart, awaited assistance from France and Provence, while meditating a simultaneous assault on Sicily and on Spain. Meanwhile his enemies had crossed to Calabria and were advancing. He sought to assault them and drive them back, but when he attacked Reggio he realised that the population of the continental provinces were no less inimical

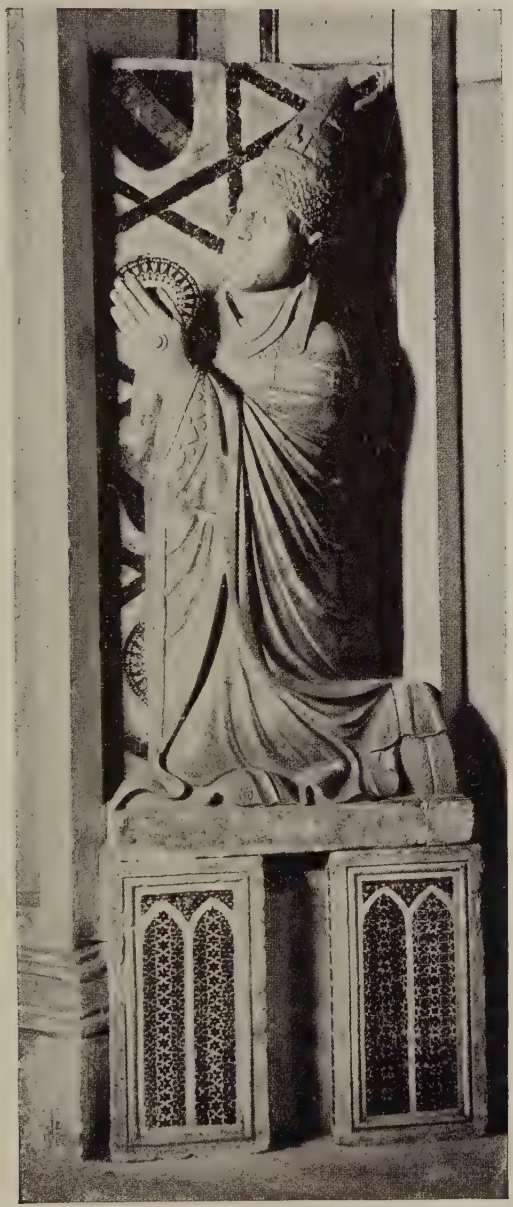
to him than the Sicilians. In fact, they offered such resistance that he was forced to retreat ; and, on repairing to Foggia, he was struck down by death on the 7th of January, 1285.

During the imprisonment of Charles the Lame, the succession passed to his son, Charles Martel, under the guardianship of the Count of Artois, and the superintendence of Martin IV., to whom the kingdom had been entrusted by Charles. But the Pope died on the 28th of May, 1285, and on the 2nd of April was succeeded by Honorius IV., who was consecrated on the 20th of May. This Pope, with the most peaceful intentions, could do nothing to quiet the inevitable disturbances of the kingdom. Sicily, which had separated itself from the continental provinces, was continually attacking them, and meanwhile the legitimate Sovereign lay in prison. On the 10th of November of the same year Peter of Aragon died, and, by the terms of his will, he was succeeded in Spain by his son Alfonso III., and in Sicily by his son James. The latter convened a Parliament at Palermo on the 2nd of February, 1286, by which he was crowned; and he at once recommenced war by sea and land. On the 23rd of June, 1287, Loria again engaged an important action in the Bay of Naples against preponderant forces, and obtained another splendid victory, taking 44 galleys, and making prisoners of the Admiral and many others. But instead of pursuing his success, he unexpectedly concluded a two years' peace with the sanction of James.

On the 3rd of April, 1287, Pope Honorius died. He was succeeded by Nicholas IV., who was consecrated on the 22nd of February, 1288, and who, on the 2nd of June, 1289, granted the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to Charles the

Lame, who had been liberated in 1288. War was renewed, but again a truce was concluded, during which James retained possession even of his conquests on the continental side of the Straits. But Alfonso having died on the 18th of June, 1290, James became his successor in Spain and quitted Sicily on the 12th, leaving his brother Frederick behind him as his lieutenant. Thus the island remained a dependency of Spain ; and this seemed equally undesirable to the Sicilians and to the Spaniards, who saw that this policy of expansion would inevitably expose them to a war with France, with the Angevins, and with the Pope. James therefore commenced negotiations with Charles II., and seemed disposed to abandon Sicily ; but the Sicilians were most averse to this. At this time, however, the great successes of the Mahometans in the East were causing much anxiety to the potentates of Europe, and rather than fight among themselves they seemed inclined to unite against the common foe. At all events the Sicilian war slackened considerably at this period.

Meanwhile serious troubles took place in Rome. On the 4th of April, 1292, Pope Nicholas IV. died, and party dissension kept the Apostolic Chair vacant during two years. At last Peter da Morrone a native of the Abruzzi was elected. Peter was a fanatical enthusiast who, to escape from the world, had founded a hermitage on Mount Morrone, near Sulmona, where, retiring into a cave with a few followers, he formed a religious order, which, from the name he assumed as Pope, was called of the Celestines. When the news that he had been unanimously elected was brought to him, he was terrified and would not hear of accepting the dignity. But his monks so surrounded and pressed him that at last he was obliged



NICHOLAS IV.

To face p. 326.

to give way. A great multitude of Barons, Princes, Prelates, and people invaded the hermitage and bore away the newly elected Pope, clad in rags and mounted on a donkey, whose bridle was held by the King and his son. On the 29th of August, 1294, he was conducted to a church near Aquila, where he was consecrated under the name of Celestine V., in the presence of a crowd which the chroniclers, with their usual exaggeration, estimate at 200,000. The Cardinals wished to conduct him to Rome, but he, destined as he was to be a passive instrument in the hands of Charles II., went instead to Naples. There he found himself in the midst of persons who left him neither peace nor liberty, and very soon his only desire was to resign the high office which had become an insupportable torment to him.

His successor was already at hand in the person of Cardinal Benedict Gaetani, an ambitious, violent, and unscrupulous man. The weakness of Celestine V., by producing a reaction, opened the way for him to the Papacy, which he had long most ardently desired. He had already made it clear that he was prepared to support the policy of Charles II. with very different energy and efficiency, and the latter, having perceived that in Celestine V. he would only find a feeble, useless tool, which bent in all directions, had shown him much favour. And so, just as everything had conspired to bring about the election of Celestine, now everything conspired to bring about his resignation. It was said that Cardinal Gaetani had even recourse to the trick of letting him hear voices at night, apparently coming from Heaven, which counselled him to resign; and Celestine actually did so on the 13th of December, 1294, before completing the fourth month of his inglorious Pontificate.

Very soon after, on the 24th of December, through the favour of the King of Naples, to whom he had made many promises, Cardinal Benedict Gaetani was elected by a majority, although he had many enemies who accused him of every scandalous vice, even of sodomy, of heresy, and of unbelief. It was said that he denied the immortality of the soul, the divinity of Christ, the existence of God. It is not easy to determine how far these accusations, upon which there has recently been much discussion, were true or calumnious. Cardinal Gaetani, who at the time of his consecration was about sixty-one years of age, although said to be much older, was well versed in civil and canonical law and had thoroughly studied the philosophy of Averrhoes, which caused him to express very unorthodox opinions. His violent and cynical nature made him very careless as to the scandal which his, often unconsidered, words might arouse. His great irritability was to a considerable extent attributable to the sufferings caused by stone. He was certainly profoundly egotistic, but possessed of an almost heroic energy and boundless ambition. His conception of the authority of the Church, which he believed himself to personify, was so elevated and so exaggerated that it must inevitably drag him into grave conflict. His character was a source of disaster to himself and to Italy.

The King of Naples should certainly have mistrusted such a Pope, but the experience he had made with Celestine drove him into desiring, above all else, a man of energy. He had urgent need of the Pope's spiritual help for the reconquest of Sicily. And the new Pope needed the King in order to re-establish his authority over the kingdom considered as a fief of the Church, and also to

enable him to possess himself of the person of Celestine. The latter, who sought to evade his adversary, had still many followers who were most irritated by the treatment he had received, and who, therefore, were a real danger to Benedict. At that time the opinion that, once elected, a Pope could never abdicate was widely held, and in consequence the recent election was not considered valid. For this reason, until Celestine was safely in his hands, Gaetani could not rest quiet.

During the first days of January, 1295, accompanied by the King and many others, he left Naples and moved towards Rome. No sooner had he gone than a false report of his death was spread abroad, and the general opinion of him was so bad that the rumour everywhere caused great joy. On the 23rd of January, 1295, he entered Rome with much pomp and was consecrated in St. Peter's under the name of Boniface VIII. He traversed the city mounted on a white hackney, whose reins were held by King Charles II. and his son Charles Martel. And in this manner, surrounded by a great gathering of nobles, prelates, and people, did he take possession of the Lateran. Meanwhile, Celestine was a fugitive, tracked by the agents of the Pope and the King, who sought to seize him. And he, wishing to live in tranquillity and solitude, on reaching Apulia, embarked for Dalmatia. But a storm at sea drove him back to the Italian coast, where the people acclaimed him Pope once more, but where the officers of Charles seized upon him and handed him over to Boniface, by whom he was imprisoned in the tower of the Castle of Fumone, near Alatri. There he died on the 19th of May, 1296.

Now that the Pope felt secure, he began to turn

his thoughts to his own ambitions and violent policy, for the affairs of this world alone had interest for him. And first of all he sought to adjust matters in the Southern Kingdom. Already during the reign of Celestine V., on the 1st of October, 1294, the Treaty of Junquera had been concluded, by which Charles II. had engaged himself to obtain from Charles of Valois, brother to King Philip the Fair, the renunciation of his pretended rights over Aragon. And King James of Spain at the same time promised to withdraw from the territories he had occupied in the Southern provinces of the Italian peninsula, and to evacuate Sicily in three years' time, also undertaking to force the island into submission to this compact should it offer any resistance. This, however, was not sufficient for Boniface, who desired the immediate submission of Sicily to the Church, which would then have handed it over to Charles upon his recognition of the Church's right of concession. As a compensation, the Pope promised to grant to James the investiture of Sardinia or Corsica, of which he assumed the right to dispose. On this occasion Charles had promised to obtain possession of the person of Celestine (and we have already noted that he did so) as a guarantee to Boniface, who was not satisfied till his victim was well in his hands. But after this had come about, and King James appeared to take no further interest in Sicily, the Sicilians, without regard either to Boniface, to Charles, or to James, opposed every agreement. Determined to maintain their independence, they elected as their Sovereign the youthful Frederick, brother to King James and grandson of Manfred, who declared himself ready to take the Sicilian crown and defend it,

if necessary, against the Pope, his brother's ally. For James, wishing to be safe from French attacks in Spain, was prepared to renounce Sicily. Frederick then, refusing the flatteries and promises of the Pope, accepted the crown of the island from the people in Palermo on the 25th of March, 1296. And, following up words by actions, he began by making himself master of some territories in Calabria.

At the end of March, 1297, King James came to Rome with his pious mother, Constance, who ardently desired to see her house at peace with the Church, whose pretended rights over Sicily she therefore upheld. And for this reason she had become estranged from her son Frederick. The Pope received Manfred's daughter with much benevolence, and freed her family from the sentence of excommunication pronounced upon it. She had brought her daughter Violante with her, who, according to a previous agreement, was then married to Robert of Calabria, son and heir-presumptive to Charles II. By this means, to the great satisfaction of Boniface VIII., the descendants of the Hohenstaufen and of Manfred became allied to those of Charles of Anjou. And the leaders of the Vespers, Roger Loria and John of Procida, who, now enjoying the Pope's good graces, had come from Spain with Queen Constance, also took part in the agreement. It would be unfair to judge them first as patriots, in the modern sense of the word, and then as traitors. They were feudal barons of the Southern provinces who, weary of the tyranny of Charles I. of Anjou, had rebelled against him in order to hand the kingdom over to the Spanish dynasty, the heirs of Manfred. And to this proposal they remained true now that Frederick had

deviated from it and had separated Sicily from Spain and from the Southern provinces in which they were born. Thenceforth, alas! Roger Loria remained faithful to Spain and abandoned Sicily, while John of Procida, withdrawing from Sicily and Naples, ended his days in Rome. Constance died at Barcelona in 1302. Her two sons continued a fratricidal war, which was fomented and ardently encouraged by the Pope. Loria, in this new war, was James's Admiral against Frederick, and frequently fought and defeated the same Sicilians whom he had, in previous times, led to glorious victories. On the 4th of July, 1299, off Cape Orlando, where the brothers engaged in battle, he defeated the Sicilian fleet, which lost 18 galleys and 6,000 men.

After this the war continued in Sicily between Frederick and the two sons of Charles II., Robert Duke of Calabria and Philip, Prince of Taranto. The latter was defeated and made prisoner by Frederick on the plain of Falconara, on the 1st of December, 1299. Although Charles was now tired of the war and disposed to make peace, the Pope willed that the bloody struggle should go on with redoubled activity. And to keep it up he even gave the money received from the pilgrims who came to Rome in extraordinary numbers to attend the Jubilee which he had ordered for the year 1300. The two fleets again met near the island of Ponza, and on the 14th of June, 1300, the Sicilians were again defeated. Out of thirty-two galleys only seven escaped, and the Admiral in command was also killed. And Loria, again the hero of the day, was most cruel in his treatment of the Sicilians, who but a few years previously had shed their blood at his command.

But not even at this moment was Boniface VIII. untrue to himself. He called upon Charles of Valois, a most ambitious and unscrupulous man who, in many campaigns, had given proof of great valour, to come to Italy and proceed to the South to co-operate in subjugating Sicily to the Angevin rule. Charles of Valois came, and after having caused much disorder in Tuscany by his efforts to raise the Guelf party there, and after having drawn thence considerable sums of money, went to Sicily in 1302. But there he met with such obstinate resistance that he was forced at last to conclude a peace, which was now desired by all. The treaty was concluded at Caltabellotta on the 29th of August and sworn on the 31st. Sicily remained to Frederick for the term of his natural life. Charles II. gave him his daughter to wife, and to the children of this union the island of Sardinia or Cyprus was to be granted, while Sicily should then revert to the Angevins. The Prince of Taranto was to be freed from imprisonment without ransom. And in the same manner the prisoners, on either side, were to be liberated. Full amnesty was to be granted to those who had deserted the Sicilian cause and had gone over to Spain, and they were to recover the fiefs they had previously held both on the island and on the Continent. Roger Loria, in fact, received his again, but ended his life in Spain, which he had ever loved more than Sicily. John of Procida had died in Rome some time previously. After this Sicily remained for a long period separated from Italy.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE COMMUNES INTO LORDSHIPS

The decadence of Southern Italy began after the Peace of Caltabellotta. Some periods of glory certainly were not wanting, but culture, political prosperity, and commercial activity seemed to have definitely established themselves in Northern and Central Italy. We have seen that already for some time past the Communes had begun to flourish, but now their progress received still greater impulse. Their intercourse with the East and the West, above all (in those years) with France and Flanders, grew beyond measure. It seemed as though the trade of the world were about to come into their hands. And at the same time their progress in art, in literature, and in science, soon became so great that they appeared to illuminate and direct thought in Europe.

We have observed that these Italian Communes were so many confederations formed of numerous associations, each of which was organised in a manner similar to the Republic of which it was a part, with the same Councils, statutes, and magistrates ; and in each the activity and industry of the citizens were greatly developed. All these Communes aimed at the same

objects : the destruction of feudal aristocracy and the triumph of the people, into whose hands the government finally came. And the people's triumph marks the moment of their highest prosperity. But it must be remembered that the class then called the people was, in fact, that of the burghers, and was, moreover, a commercial oligarchy formed of the heads of the associations and the trades. Direct or indirect participation in the government was allowed only to those who enjoyed full citizenship, and these were few, for it was restricted to those who lived within the walls of the dominant city, and even among them to a comparatively small proportion. All the rural population, rich and poor alike, were excluded from any part in political life, and, together with them, all the inhabitants of those towns which formed part of the territory of, or which, in one way or another, were subject to, the dominant city.

Among these Communes, so greatly divided and subdivided, upon which the perturbing influences of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Naples were constantly being exercised, there was perpetual conflict and war, for each wished to monopolise commerce to its own advantage at the cost of the others. And to this struggle was added the equally violent and bloody rivalry of internal factions which tore every one of the Italian cities. These civil wars had at first been fomented by the continuous struggle between the people and the nobles, until the latter had been gradually excluded from the government which had originally been in their hands. Later on they were, instead, fomented by the conflict which began between the small commercial oligarchy, which had been formerly known as the people, and the populace. Finally, to all this was added the struggle which arose

between the citizens of the dominant cities and the inhabitants of their territories, which continued to increase in extent. The country party, becoming daily more numerous, would no longer tolerate complete exclusion from the government. The want of balance between the small ruling class and the multitude of the ruled, produced, by the unjust inequality which it caused, great discontent among the majority, which felt itself oppressed. And all this, sooner or later, was bound to bring about some radical change. In fact, there arose at that time many heads of factions, who aimed, by favour of the populace upon which they counted both in the city and in its territory, at the transformation of the Communes into Lordships. And these, by suppressing Republican forms, led, through despotism, to a more general equality. It was the first step towards the necessary constitution of the Modern State, in which all those who form part of it are equally its citizens before the law.

In the midst of such a whirlpool of events, an infinite multitude of different characters and individualities were produced. And there burst forth that wonderful wealth of intellect which manifested itself in the literature and art of the Renascence. At the same time that great political experience was acquired which is faithfully reflected in the science of Statecraft which was then initiated in Italy. But at the time when this admirable progress began, national unity, which appeared always more necessary for the true strength and prosperity of the country, became more and more difficult of attainment. In the midst of such various contrast of different and jarring elements, no issue, no way of salvation was visible.

Among all the Italian Communes, that of Florence

may be taken as the type which most faithfully represents the others. It arose later than they, but it flourished more quickly and for a longer time. After having been governed by Consuls and by the civic nobility, it divided into two Republics, one called the Commune and headed by the *Podestà*, the other called the Popolo and headed by a Captain (1250). Very soon the municipality of Florence fell into the hands of the *Arti Maggiori* (greater guilds), and this happened at the time when the Angevins, at the Pope's invitation, gained possession of Southern Italy. The Florentines, as we have seen, favoured them in every way. Although apparently submitting themselves to Charles of Anjou, they were able at that time to strengthen the power of the people; and the Priors of the guilds were actually placed at the head of the government.

Then began the years of Florence's greatest prosperity, called the years of victory, which soon placed her at the head of Tuscany and quickly enlarged her territory. The bitterest struggle she sustained was with Pisa, her eternal rival, who shut her off from the sea, which had now become necessary as an outlet to her increased commerce. For Florence it was a question of life or death. In agreement with Lucca and Genoa, Pisa's rival on the sea, she commenced a war of extermination of which the first phase ended on the 6th of August, 1284, with the naval battle of Meloria, in which Pisa was defeated by the Genoese beyond all hope of recovery. The Pisan losses were enormous. Besides 5,000 dead, the chronicles speak of 9,272 prisoners, so that it was even said that whoever wished to see Pisa must go to Genoa. Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, the head of one of the Pisan factions, had in the battle

commanded a portion of the galleys, and he was accused of treason. His subsequent conduct, in fact, caused him to be still more suspected of a secret understanding with the Florentines, and was the cause of his tragic end, which inspired those immortal verses of the "Divine Comedy" which are known to all. But the war which Florence waged on Pisa did not end there: it was instead carried on for many years, until, at a much later period, the rival city was at last completely subjugated. Meanwhile Florence turned to attack Arezzo, also, like Pisa, a Ghibelline stronghold, and defeated her at the battle of Campaldino, fought on the 11th of June, 1289, in which Dante Alighieri took part.

Being now securely established as predominant in Tuscany, and protected from the Angevin petulance by the Sicilian war, which kept Charles II. fully occupied, Florence could more freely attend to internal affairs. And in 1293 the great reform of the so-called *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* of Giano della Bella was sanctioned. By these laws the nobles were discarded and completely excluded from the government, and the greater and lesser guilds (*Arti Maggiori* and *Minori*) received their definite Constitution. Already all trace of serfdom had been removed from the peasantry, to whom was granted that liberty which the law of the 6th of August, 1289, calls "a natural, and therefore inalienable right." But Florence, which had obtained such a complete victory over the nobles, now again broke into factions and divided itself between Whites and Blacks—*Cerchi* and *Donati*. Then there arose ambitious party leaders, such as Corso Donati—nicknamed "the Baron"—who hoped to make himself master of the city. For this purpose he had come to an accord with Boniface VIII., whose

limitless ambition made him aspire to extend his own authority over Tuscany. This was the moment when the Papacy, opposing all national feelings and aspirations, seconded the Angevins by every means in its power against the Sicilian revolution, and invited Charles of Valois, who had already moved from France on his way to Sicily, to halt for a time in Florence. There he could collect funds for the war which he was about to undertake, and in the meanwhile help to bring about the victory of the Blacks, the friends of the Pope and of Corso Donati. On the 1st of November, 1301, Charles of Valois entered Florence. The Blacks rose and drove out the Whites, among whom was Dante Alighieri ; they sacked the city and changed the government. But Charles of Valois had to depart for Sicily, and the people again triumphed. The *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* were strengthened, and Corso Donati was finally killed by the furious people on the 6th of October, 1308. In this state of affairs disorder increased and parties changed radically ; the names of Guelf and Ghibelline no longer retained the same character or meaning ; they varied in different parts of Italy according to local conditions, and the tendency everywhere was towards Lordships, that is to say tyrannies. This evolution, however, took place very slowly in Florence, for the greater guilds remained her masters for a long time still, and enhanced her prosperity. It was only later, in 1378, that, with the *Tumulto dei Ciompi*, the populace momentarily triumphed, and still later, in the fifteenth century, that the Lordship of the Medici began.

The history of Bologna bears much resemblance to that of Florence ; sometimes she preceded the latter in popular reforms. But in Bologna these

reforms were different in character—less logical and determined. They, however, acquired much importance from the fact that the glorious Bolognese school of law exercised its influence upon them. It was after an unlucky campaign against Modena, in 1228, that the Bolognese people, attributing their defeat to the nobles, rose, invaded the Communal palace, and initiated democratic reform. There already existed in Bologna the associations of guilds which divided the city according to its trades, and the armed companies which divided it topographically. The heads of these popular associations entered the two Communal Councils, the general and the special, which, as in Florence and elsewhere, often formed but one assembly and voted together. Popular reform continued, always at the expense of the nobles and to the advantage of the people. Very soon, about 1255, the dual form of Republic was reached, as in Florence, with a *Podestà* and a Captain of the people. After that an attempt was made to obtain greater unity by placing seventeen Elders at the head of the Commune. Even earlier than in Florence the nobles had been completely excluded from the government, and their exclusion was sanctioned in 1282 by the *Ordinamenti sacrati e sacratissimi.* Without admitting the pretension of some writers that these laws served as a model for the Florentines in their *Ordinamenti di Giustizia,* it must be recognised that both alike were the logical outcome of the same trend of thought. Both excluded from the government all those nobles whose names were not inscribed on the rolls of the popular associations and had not renounced their titles and privileges in order to put themselves on a perfect equality with the people : "Volentes et intendentes quod lupi rapaces (the

nobles) et agni mansueti (the people) ambulent pari gradu." The same may be said of the other law by which the "nobilis civitatis Bononiae, quae semper pro libertate pugnavit," abolished serfdom in its territory to give freedom to men, "quos natura liberos protulit et creavit." This, dating from 1256, also preceded the more ample and radical law made in 1289 by the Florentines ; but they had already, and earlier than the Bolognese, begun the reform of the abolition of serfdom.

Meanwhile Bologna was torn by factions, and autocratic government was only constituted late in the fourteenth century, after the conflict with the nobles and the people, which here, as in Florence, was victorious only to split up again. The populace then came into conflict with the burghers, and the factions of the Geremei and Lambertazzi were succeeded by those of the Maltraversi and the Pepoli, which last prevailed in Bologna long before the Medici in Florence.

Milan, which acquired the same predominance in Lombardy that Florence had obtained in Tuscany, possessed a far more powerful aristocracy and became a Lordship more rapidly. After the Peace of Constance the division of parties commenced, and the Commune found itself divided into three parts. In the *Credenza di S. Ambrogio*, a popular association was formed to resist the nobles, who had seized upon the government ; in the *Motta*, the minor nobility were banded together ; and in the *Credenza dei Consoli*, the greater. And these associations were almost three Republics, with their own magistrates and residences. Here also the real struggle was between the nobles and the people, with whom the lesser nobility united to combat the greater. The

external wars, undertaken for the purpose of enlarging the Communal territory, often served to promote harmony, and the Republic was then victorious, as was the case after the battle of Cortenuova, fought against Frederick II. But immediately after the nobles again obtained the upper hand, and the struggle with the people—which here also was destined to triumph—recommenced. When, in 1240, the people was really victorious, it needed a commander, and chose one in the person of Pagano della Torre. Although he soon died, nevertheless his family acquired power from that time onwards. In 1247 Martin della Torre, nephew of Pagano, was elected Elder of the *Credenza di S. Ambrogio*, in order to fight the nobles, who, outside the city, had formed an organisation. The struggle was long, and many were the wars and the statutes passed to protect the people's interests. At last the Torriani became masters of Milan. In 1265 their chief, Napoleon, also called Napo, was nominated perpetual Lord of the people; and the rule of the Della Torre lasted till 1277. But with every advantage gained over the nobles, this family became more violent and despotic, seeking, with the help of the Empire, to become tyrants. The nobles, led by the Visconti family, again took heart, and in January, 1277, commanded by Archbishop Otho Visconti, they obtained at Desio a complete victory, by which they overthrew the Torriani. After some other engagements, Archbishop Otho entered Milan as a master on the 27th of December, 1282, and ruled there till the 8th of August, 1295, when he died at the age of 88. Already, in 1287, his great-nephew Matthew, who succeeded him, and was the real founder of the dynasty, had been nominated Captain of the people.

But this new Lordship could not be a real triumph of the nobility. The people had gained too much ground to lose it all at once. And Matthew was too shrewd to endanger by any imprudence the success of his family. He occupied himself instead with the enlargement of the Milanese territory. The Della Torre family, however, did not consider themselves entirely beaten, and together with the friends they still retained within the city and many others outside, they continued the struggle for twenty-five years, until the end of 1302, when they were able to re-enter the city. In 1307 Guy della Torre was elected Captain of the people—an office which was soon confirmed to him for life. Thus he became Lord of the city, and in this position Henry VII. found him at the time of his descent into Italy.

These sanguinary struggles between two rival families tore many of the Italian Communes. At Verona we find the Montecchi at the head of the nobles, fighting the San Bonifazio, who led the people. In 1226 the tyrant Ezzelino da Romano, who was already master of the Trevisan Marches, concentrated his power at Verona, and, in agreement with the Montecchi, became its actual lord in 1232. He understood that it was necessary to satisfy the interests of the people to a certain extent, and he therefore caused the representatives of the guilds to be admitted into the Communal Councils—an example which was followed in the other Communes subject to his rule. He set about to destroy by every art, by violence and deceit or by force, all those lords or aspirants to Lordship who might give him umbrage. And it was for this reason that notwithstanding his strong intelligence, great bravery, and qualities which might have made of him the founder of a State, he was betrayed by his

own cruel violence. All his enemies united against him, and, as we have already noted, on the 27th of September, 1259, he was defeated, wounded, and locked up in prison, where, on the 1st of October, he died. After that, in 1260, Mastino della Scala was elected *Podestà* of the Commune of Verona, and in 1262 perpetual Captain of the people; and he, although a Ghibelline like Ezzelino, also sought to favour the people. Thus commenced the glorious domination of the Scaligers.

At Mantua, Ferrara, and Parma we find that by the same road and through the same struggles of the same parties, absolute Lordship is reached. In Romagna the conflict was generally attended by more tumult, and was more individual and disorderly than elsewhere. On all sides there were acts of treachery and murders mixed with examples of chivalrous heroism. In Montefeltro, which lies between the Marches and Romagna, there existed a varied nobility, composed of arrogant lords and brave captains of adventure. Chief among them were families of the Malatesta and the Feltreschi. Frederick II., as recompense for services rendered by the latter, gave Urbino to Buonconte da Montefeltro, and his family reigned gloriously and for long years over that State.

The Marquisate of Monferrat acquired very special characteristics. During the second half of the thirteenth century, its enterprising and valiant Marquises had formed their Lordship between the Panaro and the Po, surrounded by the Communes of Asti, Vercelli, and Alexandria. With the reign of William VII., nicknamed "Longsword," who succeeded his father in 1253, the family abandoned its Ghibelline traditions and joined the Guelf interest by taking the side of Charles of Anjou, whom it later on deserted when

he became too violent and menacing. Uniting then to Genoa and Asti, it turned Ghibelline once more, and, by 1264, had subjugated various towns such as Cuneo, Alba, Montevico, and Savigliano. At one time or another, even Novara, Vercelli, Asti, Ivrea, and Pavia had recognised the Marquises as their temporary masters. In 1266 they took Turin from the Lords of Savoy. But this widespread dominion of a feudal house over various Communes formed a heterogeneous and hybrid agglomeration which could not last long in Italy, where the people were constantly gaining ground. Besides this, many of the powerful neighbouring Lords, who had at first been friendly to the Marquises, now became their enemies. Thus, in 1280, William was defeated and taken prisoner by Thomas of Savoy, who only freed him after obtaining many renunciations from him. And in 1290 a formidable coalition of subject Communes, together with many adverse nobles and a strong army led by Amadeus of Savoy, made havoc of that artificial and badly constituted State. At first William resisted bravely, but when he marched threateningly on Alexandria to put down sedition there, the people rose and his enemies again united against him. He was defeated, taken prisoner and placed in an iron cage, where, after a year, he died in 1292.

The maritime Communes have quite a special character of their own, which often appears in contradiction to that of the inland Communes : but on closer examination the intimate relationship between them is discovered.

Most difficult is the constitutional history of Genoa, bound up as it is with the city's economic history, which alone can explain it. Genoa was surrounded by the Ligurian Lords, who poured into the city ;

but shortly after the middle of the eleventh century, the burghers and lesser nobles united and formed an alliance for mutual defence, called the "Compagna," which elected its own Consuls, whose names since 1199 have been preserved in the chronicles. The "Compagna" was the first real nucleus of the Commune. In 1257, with the cry, "Si faccia il popolo," William Boccanegra was elected Captain. And although he belonged to the nobility and was supported by a section of it, still he favoured the interests of the people and opened for them the road to government. In 1262 a reactionary movement started by the nobles against Boccanegra was successful, and he was exiled. But in 1270 the heads of the party which had risen in 1257 were again victorious, and the period of Genoa's real glory commenced. Her territory was enlarged, the most powerful and most riotous of the nobles were combated; Pisa was defeated at the Meloria (1284), and on the 8th of September, at Curzola, the Venetian fleet was destroyed, and Venice, leaving in the enemy's hands 8,000 prisoners, among whom was Marco Polo (who wrote his celebrated "Milione" in prison), was forced to agree to a humiliating peace. After that Genoese commerce prospered still more in all parts of the world. This was not only most advantageous to the people but also to the nobles, who likewise engaged in trade and were always powerful; but for a long period they divided the city into violent factions, and caused the government, more than once, to fall into the hands of strangers.

Altogether different was the history of Venice; and the difference arose principally from the fact that, unlike all other Italian Communes, Venice, which owed her extraordinary prosperity to her geographical

position, so admirably adapted for world-trade, had no feudal aristocracy. Her patricians were descended from old Roman families, which had in very early times engaged in commerce. And this commercial aristocracy, which, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, can well be compared to the *Arti Maggiori* of Florence, obtained, like them, the mastery over the Republic in 1172, when it formed the Major Council, composed of 480 Councillors. This Council was the real and effective Sovereign of the city. The Doge, placed at the head of the government and surrounded by six Councillors, without whom he could do nothing, wielded an authority which appeared much greater than it really was. The actual rulers were the Major Council and the *Pregadi*, a sort of Minor Council or Senate. On great occasions the people was convoked in a Parliament, which at Venice was called *Arengo*. The Doge, with his six Councillors and the three heads of the Court of Appeal, formed the *Collegio*, which in Florence instead was called the *Signoria*. The Major Council and the *Pregadi* could be compared to the two Assemblies, General and Special. The difference between the two forms of government lay in this : that the Doge was elected for life, while the *Gonfaloniere* of Florence changed with the *Signoria* every two months. Besides this, in Venice the patricians had conquered, while in Florence it was the people. And the two Republics advanced along the two diverging lines which they had adopted from the first. Thus in Florence the point was reached in 1293 where the *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* destroyed the aristocracy ; while in Venice, in 1297, the closing, or *serrata*, of the Major Council limited and determined the number of families which alone could form part of it. In 1315 the first register of

these families was compiled. Later on another was made of the births (1,506) and of the marriages (1,528) of these same families, and was called the *Libro d'Oro* (golden book). The great difference between this Constitution and that of the other Italian Communes was, however, as has been already noted, more apparent than real. The Doge not only had very limited powers, but in order to prevent any party from intriguing or succeeding in obtaining the election of a Doge of tyrannical tendencies, the ceremony of election had, ever since the middle of the thirteenth century, been rendered most complicated and surrounded by a thousand precautions. It lasted for five days, during which voting was repeated five times, before the forty-one electors were chosen who finally nominated him. All this, it is true, was the work of the patricians, but they belonged to the families who were engaged in trade on a large scale, corresponding to the *Arti Maggiori* or *Popolo* of Florence. Thus it was the same class which in Venice definitely possessed itself of the government, to the exclusion of the old nobility, which stood aloof from commerce.

Naturally such a state of things was bound to produce reaction. There followed, in fact, a conspiracy and rebellion of the older families, headed by Bajamonte Tiepolo, who, far from being the vulgar plotter which some writers have called him, was instead the leader of those who violently resisted their exclusion from the government. But their revolt was for that reason most energetically suppressed, and most severe provision was made to prevent its repetition. For the internal defence of the State, 500 civic guards were instituted. The celebrated Council of Ten was also formed then. Nominated at first to inquire into the origin of the conspiracy, it was subsequently,

by the debate of the 20th of July, 1335, rendered permanent as a defence to liberty and as a terror to agitators within the State, the tranquillity and prosperity of which were thenceforth assured. And thus it happened that in the fifteenth century, when all the other Italian Communes, worn out by party strife, ended by becoming victims to local or foreign tyranny, Venice remained peaceful, independent, and increasingly prosperous. The fall of Constantinople, the rise and advance of the Turkish power, and the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, weakened her and caused her political and economic decadence. But nevertheless she maintained her freedom and independence until the overbearing might and violence of the first Napoleon destroyed them.

The conditions here described make it clear that at the time when all over Europe great States, necessary to political life and to the strengthening of national feeling, were in process of formation, Italy could not have attained the same object without a profound and substantial transformation of her whole existence. Neither the King of Naples, nor the Pope, nor the Communes, nor the Lordships had the force required to form a united country, although, in a vague manner, there were many who aspired to it. In such a disorderly and desperate state of affairs, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it appeared to some that the only means of producing unity was by the reconstitution of the Universal Empire, the direct heir to ancient Rome, and therefore having its natural centre there. But this was the negation of the new National State, and would have inevitably driven Europe back into the Middle Ages. Italy's decadence thus became inevitable at the very moment when she had reached the highest point of intellectual and commercial prosperity.

CHAPTER VII

CONFLICT BETWEEN BONIFACE VIII. AND THE COLONNA FAMILY—DEATH OF BONIFACE VIII.

(1297–1303)

At the time when the Communes were passing through the crises which we have indicated, two facts contributed to make them more serious; on the one side the condition of the Empire, which was vacant, or, at all events, held by many to be so because the elected Emperor had not been crowned, and on the other the new importance which France was assuming under Philip the Fair. This country was developing into a strong, united State, independent of the Empire. And the new King, whose aim was to increase such independence, made his influence felt everywhere, and especially in Italy, where he was constantly interfering. It appeared as though he was ambitious of assuming Imperial authority, if not for himself at least for some member of his family. And this was not all, for to it must be added that Boniface VIII., who then occupied St. Peter's chair, wishing to usurp the position of Imperial representative, began at once, with blind impulsiveness, to make his boundless ambition manifest in

BONIFACE VIII.

To face p. 350.

every way. He wished to command the Communes, especially those of Tuscany, and force them to accept *Podestà* of his nomination, as he had imposed a Senator for one year (1297) upon Rome in the person of Pandulf Savelli.

These political conditions, already sufficiently serious, were aggravated by the interfering character of Boniface and by his private relations to the Roman nobles, which soon gave rise to violent conflict and led to disastrous consequences. He began with making his own family most powerful, especially his brother Loffredo, who became the head of the Gaetani. All this was bound to create discontent, and it grew rapidly. But his most serious quarrel, which was at the same time political and personal, was with the important Colonna family. This family was favourable to the Sicilian party and friendly to the Minorites and the Fraticelli, who had sided with Celestine V. and condemned his forced renunciation of the Papacy. They held the election of Boniface to be actually invalid. All this was more than sufficient to furnish material for a conflagration which the smallest spark could kindle; and very soon this came to pass.

The sons of Otho Colonna had decided to place the administration of their family possessions, whose principal centre was Palestrina, in the hands of their elder brother, Cardinal James, who, more decidedly than the others, had declared himself the friend of the Minorites. He apparently wished to dispose of the common property to the advantage of the second brother, John, who had a large family. This would have damaged the other brothers, and it therefore caused a family quarrel, in which Boniface, most inopportunely, and with his usual impetuous

intolerance of opposition, sought to take part. Cardinal James, together with John and his sons, protested violently. Conflict broke out. And as though to make it worse, the legend was spread abroad that in 1297 one of the Colonna had assaulted and robbed a convoy which was bringing to the Pope a sum of money and gold and silver vessels, collected by him when still Cardinal, from his native town, Anagni.

In a Consistory, held on the 10th of May, 1297, the two Cardinals, James and Peter, were deposed ; and this most uncommon measure caused much scandal. The Colonna family, without hesitation, took it as a provocation, and held a meeting with other enemies of the Pope, some Frenchmen (which gave rise to the supposition that Philip the Fair had a hand in it) and some Minorites, among whom was the celebrated Fra Jacopone of Todi, called the *Giullare di Dio* (Minstrel of God). They openly declared that they did not recognise the election of Boniface, and, appealing to a future Council, published, and even attached to the altar of St. Peter, a manifesto insulting to the Pope. In it they said that Celestine V. could not resign the dignity with which God had invested him, and that no one could deprive him of it, much less usurp it for himself. On the 23rd of May a second Bull was published against the rebels, excommunicating the two Colonna Cardinals and the children of John. On the 14th of December Boniface, blind with fury, ordered a Crusade against the Colonna, and promised indulgence to all who should take arms against them. In this manner a small army of Papal partisans and other enemies of the Colonna family was formed, and their friends, terrified by the Pope's violence, abandoned

them to their fate. The estates of Zagarolo, Nepi, and Colonna were occupied. Palestrina, which might be called the capital of the Colonna fiefs, continued to resist, but had finally to capitulate in September, 1298. Then the two Cardinals and John's two sons, Agapetus and John, called Sciarra, one of the most violent among them, were forced to humiliate themselves by appearing before the Pope with ropes round their necks imploring pardon. But even this was insufficient to propitiate him. He ordered the complete demolition of Palestrina, without even showing mercy to its inhabitants, who had to build huts to shelter in. The possessions of the Colonna were confiscated, and they, bitterly complaining of the violation of all public faith, fled into exile and sought everywhere to raise up foes against the Pope. We shall soon see what were the ultimate and serious consequences of this struggle.

Meanwhile Boniface, who apparently foresaw nothing, published a Bull on the 22nd of February, 1300, proclaiming a Jubilee for that year and promising wide indulgences to whomsoever should make a certain number of visits to the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul. He wished to give proof by this means of his authority as head of the Church, and to make it evident to the world. But he also wished to collect the money which was necessary for his ambitious and risky policy. It seemed then that the whole world poured into Rome. It was said that each day 30,000 pilgrims entered or quitted the city, and that there were present there constantly during the year 200,000. It has been estimated that 2,000,000 pilgrims visited Rome, and that each one left an offering of money for the Pope.

A great part of this money was employed in sustaining the Angevin interest in Sicily, where it was rapidly losing ground, for King Frederick, seconded by the people, was fortunate in his resistance to the weak Charles II. Boniface VIII., always opposed to the Sicilian revolt, and not foreseeing the evils which would come upon him from France, had incited Charles of Valois to come to Italy in order to arrange matters in Tuscany favourably to the Church, and then, without delay, to undertake the Sicilian war. On the 3rd of September, 1301, with this end in view, he had nominated him Captain-General of the Church and also Peacemaker in Tuscany—an office which he conferred upon him in the name of the Empire, which he presumed to represent during the vacancy. Upon the death of Rudolf a new King of the Romans had been elected in the person of Adolphus of Nassau, but, on the 2nd of July, 1298, he was killed in battle by his rival, Albert of Austria, who succeeded him. Pope Boniface, however, refused to recognise him, declaring him to have caused Rudolf's death, and saying that he knew him to be the ally of Philip the Fair, with whom he had already commenced a struggle which was soon to break out into open war. He is said to have exclaimed, "For the present it is I who command, it is I who am the Emperor!" It is certain, at all events, that he assumed the right of acting as such. Meanwhile Charles of Valois, Philip's brother, called to Italy by the Pope, had achieved little or nothing. At Florence his advent had only created disorder, and when he left everything became again as it had been before. In Sicily, as we have already related, it had been necessary to arrange the Peace of

Caltabellotta, by which Frederick was recognised as King of Sicily for the term of his natural life, under the promise that the island should pass to the Angevins at his death—a promise which was not kept owing to the opposition of the Sicilians.

The struggle with Philip the Fair soon became serious, and finally acquired real historic importance. France was steadily progressing as a strong State independent of the Empire. Her independence was growing every day, and Philip, proud of this, had no intention, once free of the Empire, of submitting, as Boniface required of him, to the Church. Thus did the conflict originate. But the King was furthermore upheld by national feeling and public opinion which had taken form in France. Around him a school of jurists had arisen, who became the exponents and ardent defenders of his political ideas, which were also those of the country in general. Chief among them was William of Nogaret, the most fiery, enterprising, and aggressive of all. They maintained, in the face of the Church, the independence of the State, which, they observed, was already formed before the Church existed, and they no longer admitted the unity and universal authority of the Empire. Races are different and need different Governments and Sovereigns. Nevertheless, now that the Empire was vacant, these writers, who in reality were opportunists, contradicting themselves, proposed that France should assume its succession. If not actually Philip the Fair, a member of the royal family, possibly Charles of Valois, should be elected Emperor. France could with ease govern Germany, subjugate and dominate the Italian Communes, and reduce the Pope and the Church to dependence on her. These were

not the logical deductions of a new political philosophy, but rather the interested, and often illogical, manifestations of that pre-eminence which France desired to assume more especially over Italy. These writers tended to encourage Philip's unbridled ambition and sought to flatter him. That he, urged along such a path, should come into violent collision with Boniface VIII. was inevitable. Very soon, in fact, it was seen that all the Pope's enemies collected round the King and enjoyed his favour. An occasion which would provoke the outbreak of hostilities was certain not to be wanting.

Philip the Fair, being then engaged in war with England and with France, had urgent need of funds and sought them everywhere and in all ways. He even had recourse to the dangerous expedient of issuing false money. Later, in 1307, he violently suppressed the order of the Knights Templars and confiscated their possessions. Already he had begun to seize upon vacant benefices and to impose heavy taxes on churches, convents, and ecclesiastics. Boniface was much incensed by this, and in 1296 he published the Bull "Clericis laicos," in which he prohibited ecclesiastics and religious corporations from giving money to laymen and condemned those who demanded it. Although the prohibition was general and made to the Sovereigns of all countries, still it was directly aimed against France and her King, who, on account of the war, sorely needed money. And the King responded by a decree forbidding the clergy and the religious corporations from sending money out of France without the Sovereign's permission. On the 5th of December, 1301, the Pope despatched to France the new Bull "Ausculta Fili," in which he accused the King of want of

respect to the Church, from which he was constantly taking money, and of oppressing the clergy; furthermore, he reminded him of the absolute power which the Pope derived from God over Kings and their kingdoms. The die was now cast. Indignation in France had reached a high pitch and was increased by the fact that an abbreviated version of the Bull, drawn up by the priest De Flotte and making its contents appear more aggressive than they really were, was spread about the country. The Legate who had brought it was accused of having come to foment disorder in the kingdom, and was imprisoned, tried, and sent away. It has been repeatedly affirmed, though without good proof, that the Bull was publicly and solemnly burnt in Notre Dame on the 11th of February, 1302. On the 8th of April of that year, Philip convened an Assembly of nobles, clergy, and burghers, which is held to be the first Convocation of the States General: and it gave its enthusiastic approval to the King's conduct. Philip furthermore forbade the French clergy to attend the Council which Boniface had convoked in Rome on the 1st of November for the purpose of judging him. And the clergy, unwilling to attend it, for the first time gave proof of wishing to separate from the Pope to unite with their King. The Council, in fact, met in the Lateran without many of the French prelates. The Pope then (about the 18th of November) gave out the celebrated Bull "Unam Sanctam," which was soon published and in which, without any reticence, he made his programme clear. The Church has but one Head who is Christ: Peter is His Vicar and his successors, the Popes, represent Him on Earth: every human being is subject to the Pope, to whose Spiritual Lordship the temporal is

subject: for the welfare of souls he is placed above Kings and kingdoms. The fundamental idea, which Boniface continually repeats in his writings, is that whosoever resists the omnipotence of the Pope resists God.

The Papacy, which at one time had favoured the independence of the Communes, now combated them and sought to make use of the Angevins as a support for its new policy. In France, however, Boniface found himself in direct conflict with the independence of the State and also with the King, to whom, in the end, he had to give way. On the 13th of June, 1303, an assembly of Bishops and Barons met in the Louvre, and not only was the King's action approved but it appealed against the Pope to a future Council. This, it is true, had already been done by the Colonna family; but now it was no longer the protest of a few individuals but the official declaration of a State. It was the first step towards what was later the Gallican Church.

Boniface at last was forced to realise the chasm which was opening under his feet. From the Empire alone, as so often in the past, could help be looked for. For this reason the Pope, on the 30th of April, 1303, had already decided to recognise as worthy to be King of the Romans that same Albert of Austria whom he had before declared unworthy. And Albert not only recognised that the Pope alone had the right of granting the Imperial crown, but unblushingly added that the Electoral Princes received from him their right to elect and that the power of the Emperor and of the Empire emanated from the Pontifical grace. Moreover, by a diploma of the 17th of July, 1303, he promised to send no Imperial viceroy to Italy without the Pope's consent. Thus did the successor of the

Hohenstaufen, the future head of the Empire, declare himself almost a vassal of the Church!

All this had caused intense hatred of Boniface to accumulate on every side. The nobles of the Campagna were incensed because he had enormously increased, at their expense, the fortunes of his relations, especially of his nephew Peter, forming in this manner the great wealth of the Gaetani family. The Italian Communes, particularly in Tuscany, were displeased by the unlawful interference which he attempted in their affairs. The exiled Colonna family, established at the Court of Philip the Fair, profiting by the general irritation, added fuel to the fire and urged methods of violence. They continued to insist that Boniface was not a legitimate Pope and that his election was invalid; they repeated that he was a heretic, that he had no belief in the immortality of the soul, that he was guilty of obscene vices, and that he held intercourse with the devil. At last a plot was hatched between them and Philip the Fair, of which the execution was entrusted to that same William of Nogaret, the celebrated jurist, professor, and vice-chancellor whom we have already described as the most ardent upholder of the rights of the French crown. William, together with Sciarra Colonna, repaired to the Castle of Staggia, near Siena, furnished with letters of credit to the Florentine bankers. He began thence to distribute money profusely in the Campagna, in order to have at his disposal a sufficient armed force. Boniface was then at Anagni, his native place, where he felt himself secure. He proposed, on the 8th of September, 1303, in the same cathedral in which Alexander III. had pronounced excommunication on Frederick I., and Gregory IX. upon Frederick II., solemnly to declare the excommunication

and deposition of Philip the Fair. But he was not in time. On the night of the 7th the conspirators entered Anagni crying, "Death to Boniface! Long live Philip!" Nogaret harangued the people, saying that he and his companions intended to arrest the Pope in order to bring him before a Council. They entered the cathedral, occupied the neighbouring habitations of the Cardinals, and assaulted the Pope's palace which communicated with the cathedral and which Boniface's nephews courageously defended. The first attack was made by setting fire to the cathedral and the palace. All his defenders were taken, driven to flight or killed, but Boniface remained undaunted at his post. And when Nogaret and Sciarra burst into his room they found him seated on the throne, clad in his Pontifical robes, wearing the tiara and inclined towards the cross, which, together with the keys, he held in his hands. Sciarra seized him by the arm, pulled him from the throne, and appeared about to do him further violence, but the others interfered to prevent it. He was kept in strict custody while his treasury and those of his nephews and of the cathedral were sacked. Boniface was kept prisoner for three days. Refusing all food, answering no questions, he inspired, by his unwavering firmness, respect in those who were treating him so violently.

On the 10th of September the same population which, joining his aggressors, had reviled him, rose in his favour to the cry of "Death to the traitors!" The prisoners were freed and Sciarra and Nogaret were put to flight. The Pope, surrounded by forces under the command of Cardinal James and Matthew Orsini, was soon after escorted to Rome. On the road they met 400 armed men, who joined forces

with them, and Pope Boniface was once more installed in the Vatican. There, however, he quickly realised that he had escaped from the Colonna family only to fall into the hands of the Orsini. It was said that the humiliation of finding himself once more a prisoner caused him such profound grief that he again refused all nourishment, and that finally, in an access of fury, he beat his head against the wall and fell inanimate upon his couch, where he was found dead. Thus was verified the prophecy attributed to Celestine V.: "Intrabit ut vulpis regnabit ut Leo, morietur ut Canis." He died on the 11th of October, 1303. Under him the Papacy had placed itself in direct opposition to the National and Modern State, which was then in process of formation, and to the liberty and independence of the Communes. This policy was to have disastrous consequences for the Church and for Italy and to bring about a new period of Italian history.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE ELECTION OF BENEDICT XI. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VII.

(1303–1313)

On the 22nd of October, 1303, the Cardinal of Ostia was elected Pope and took the name of Benedict XI. Possibly with a view to maintaining his position in the midst of the many conflicts by which he was surrounded, he endeavoured to act with impartial justice and without respect of persons. He ordered the restitution of all possessions stolen from the Church, took legal proceedings against the plunderers, removed the sentence of excommunication from the Colonna family, with the exception of Sciarra, and put them again in possession of their estates, and annulled the condemnation of Philip the Fair, alleging that he had no part in the assault of Anagni. And to gain the friendship of France he also annulled, by the Bull of the 13th of May, 1304, all Boniface's hostile acts. He even desired to initiate a trial against his memory. But, at the same time, he openly condemned the outrage of Anagni. Retiring to Perugia for safety from the violence of party feeling, he excommunicated Nogaret and others.

By the Bull of the 7th of June he excommunicated all those who had directly or indirectly taken part in the outrage and summoned them to appear for judgment before his tribunal. All this naturally caused much clamour; but barely a month had passed after the appearance of the last Bull when Benedict XI. died on the 7th of July.

The Conclave which met at Perugia, while in the Campagna the Colonna, Gaetani, and Orsini families were fighting one another, was divided into two parties, the French and the Italian, and continued its deliberations for several months without coming to any decision. Finally, the Italian party proposed three French candidates who had been upholders of Boniface, and left the opposing party to make a definite choice among them. Philip was warned that the preference was likely to be given to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Goth, a Gascon, and he at once let him know the price of his support. The ambitious Prelate accepted the conditions, for, although he had been raised to the Archbishopric by Boniface, he was ready to become the slave of the King he had combated until then.

He was elected on the 5th of June, 1305, and, to the general astonishment, instead of hurrying to Rome he summoned the Cardinals to France. On the 14th of November he was consecrated in the church of St. Just at Lyons, in the presence of Philip the Fair, Charles of Valois, and many of the great French nobles, and took the name of Clement V. On this occasion there occurred an event which seemed of sinister augury. During the solemn procession which followed the consecration, the sudden collapse of a wall caused the Pope to fall from his horse. The tiara rolled upon the ground

and one of its most precious gems was lost. Several of the Pope's following, among them Charles of Valois, were hurt, and the Duke of Brittany died of the injuries received.

Philip the Fair now had a servile Pope who tried to please him in all things. Clement proceeded to Lyons and to Bordeaux and then settled at Avignon, whither, with much scandal and amidst the general discontent (more especially of the Italians), he transferred the seat of the Papacy. He then continued more and more to make the Church subservient to the King of France. He annulled the Bull "Clericis laicos," and declared that from the other "Unam Sanctam" no harm should come to Philip. The Colonna family received back their lands and their dignities and the purple was restored to the two Cardinals. In 1305 the transference of the Papal Court to Avignon was effected, and it remained there till 1377. This town was feudally subject to the Counts of Provence, and therefore to the Angevins. In its neighbourhood was the county of Venasca, which in 1229 had been ceded by Raymond of Toulouse to the Popes. This transference also of the Pontifical seat was a remarkable fact and a proof that the condition of the Church was much altered.

Meantime Rome, owing to the Pope's withdrawal, was frequently the scene of disorder, and the Commune gave a more democratic form to the Government by completely excluding the nobles, as had been done at Florence and elsewhere in Italy. But the greatest disorder of all was in Germany. On the 1st of May, 1308, Albert of Hapsburg was killed by his nephew. And, owing to the Imperial vacancy, Philip the Fair pressed the Pope to grant the crown of the Empire to a member of his family, possibly to Charles

SEVEN ELECTORS CHOOSE HENRY OF LUXEMBURG AS EMPEROR.

(From an illuminated MS. of Henry of Luxemburg.)

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of Valois. This seemed easy of achievement with a Pope such as Clement V., who was the king's creature. But in spite of Clement's deference and submission, there was a limit to his subservience. To place the Imperial crown on the head of a French Prince when the seat of the Church was at Avignon, Rome in a state of rebellion, and the Angevins masters in Italy, meant the total enslavement of the Church to France. No Pope could bend to that point. Therefore even Clement V. was opposed to the projects of Philip the Fair and secretly favoured Henry of Luxemburg, who was elected King of the Romans at Frankfort on the 27th of November, 1308, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 6th of January, 1309. On the 26th of July the Pope recognised the election and promised to crown him Emperor, although for the moment the ceremony could not take place. It was, in fact, postponed for two years to allow time for the Council, already convoked in France, to be held.

Henry VII., born on the borders of France, had received an education which gave a Latin as well as a German turn to his ideas. Although possessing the small fief of Luxemburg, of which he was Count, he could not be called a real Sovereign, nor had he an army of his own. All power and authority were to come to him from his quality of Emperor. Therefore he attached great importance to his coronation in Rome. And whereas Rudolf and Albert had been occupied only by their own States and the affairs of Germany, his soul was turned towards the restoration of the Empire, which he regarded as his Heaven-sent mission. This was the idea which exalted him, while it dominated him completely. But such an extraordinarily important undertaking was far from easy of realisation in Italy where, together with

ardent supporters, it met with serious opponents. Charles II. of Naples had died on the 5th of May, 1309, and his third son, Robert, had succeeded him. His eldest son, Charles Martel, had been called to Hungary to assume its crown as his mother's heir, and his second son had become a churchman. In August of the same year, at Avignon, the Pope granted the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Robert. At the same time he appointed him his vicar in Romagna, to prevent Henry VII. from presuming to occupy it as Imperial territory. Thus did Robert, who was talented and brave, find himself at the head of the Guelf party and secretly favoured by the Pope against Henry VII., the natural head of the Ghibellines. Henry VII., having entrusted German affairs to his son, started for Italy, whither he had previously sent Louis of Savoy, nominated later Senator of Rome, who, reaching Florence on the 3rd of July, found the city very hostile to the Emperor. Florence, in fact, had always been, and was still, the centre and home of the Guelf party, which now began to excite opposition to the advancing Emperor in all parts of Italy.

In the autumn of 1310 Henry was at Lausanne, ready to continue his progress and hoping to bring peace into the peninsula. Coming to Italy, as he did, half a century after the fall of the Hohenstaufen, he had nothing to gain by siding either with Guelfs or Ghibellines, which had become local and personal parties. But these parties existed and it was impossible to prevent one of them, naturally the Ghibelline, from rallying round him and, by this alone, making the Guelfs his enemies. In vain were his public acts headed: "In nomine Regis pacifici." Moreover, his army consisted of only 5,000 men,

almost all plebeians, for the magnates of the Empire, who had accompanied the former Emperors to Italy, now held aloof. Nevertheless, the representatives of the Italian cities, with the exception of Florence, whose opposition to the Empire increased, and who, for commercial reasons, maintained her friendship for France in spite of the damage which the coming of Charles of Valois had caused her, flocked to meet him. On the 23rd of October Henry crossed Mont Cenis; on the 24th he was at Susa, and on the 30th at Turin, where many even of the Guelf lords and tyrants presented themselves to him to make act of fealty. The Lord of Milan, Guy della Torre, however, kept away, for he mistrusted Henry, whom he held to be a supporter of his rival Matthew Visconti, now in exile, but still hoping for assistance to recover the Lordship of Milan. Many of the Italian Lords had by this time supplied contingents to Henry's army, and it now numbered 12,000. The Romans sent an embassy, in which were included members of the Colonna, Orsini, and Annibaldi families, accompanied by 300 knights, and invited him to Rome together with the Pope, who was to crown him. At the end of 1310 Louis of Savoy was elected for one year as Senator of Rome, and the Pope confirmed the election. The cities which showed deference to Henry and accepted his viceroys were warmly advised by him to recall their exiles and to re-establish peace.

It seemed as though he really might prove the just and pacific King which he desired to be. He was forty-nine years old, of handsome presence and good; moreover, he was a fine speaker, able to fascinate and convince his hearers. Guelfs and Ghibellines alike appeared to welcome him. The Ghibellines especially,

in the midst of the disorder of Italy and of the dangers which threatened her, saw in him a saviour. Some of them entirely lost their heads about him. Among these was Dante Alighieri, then living in exile, who regarded him as sent by God to save Italy. In his book "De Monarchia," he expounded the programme of the Imperial party as he conceived it. This was not a book written with the express purpose of upholding the interests of any one man in particular, as was the case with the writings of the jurists friendly to Philip the Fair, but rather the scientific exposition of a doctrine intended to save secular society from the oppression of the Church and Italy from the invadent overbearance of France. The true seat of the Empire should be Rome, which had been its cradle. Dante's immortal mind felt the catastrophe which was drawing near as mediæval society approached its end, and he sought a safe anchorage. But the Universal Empire, invoked by him, was itself a mediæval institution, contrary to the National State which he also foresaw and which must inevitably arise. This new form of State was destined to disintegrate the Universal Empire. And Dante, while predicting the future, still sought, in "De Monarchia," a way of saving that mediæval form of society which was destined to perish in order to make way for another, the birth of which, by his writings, he also unconsciously hurried on.

On the 23rd of December, Henry VII., accompanied by Matthew Visconti and other exiles, entered Milan, where, at Epiphany, January 6, 1311, he assumed the Iron crown in the church of St. Ambrose. He requested and obtained the Lordship of Milan. Cremona, Padua, Bergamo, and Brescia sent their syndics to swear fealty and make act of

obedience. Mantua, Verona, and Como had already done this, and other cities followed their example. Venice, Genoa, and above all Florence, who was displaying feverish energy to form a league of the Guelf cities against the Empire, refused to do likewise. But the most notable event, showing indisputably the real situation, and dissipating all vain illusions, was the rising of the Visconti and their followers, on the 12th of February, against the Della Torre, who, after a bloody fray in the streets of Milan, under the eyes of Henry, were driven from the city. Their houses were pulled down, and they fled to Pisa, Genoa, and Savoy. At once Cremona, Crema, Lodi, and Brescia took their side, and declared themselves hostile to the Emperor, who thus found himself suddenly dragged into party strife. Cremona and a few other towns, although, after rebelling, they had soon made act of submission again, were by Henry's order deprived of their walls and given over to plunder. In this manner was the good, peaceful, and just Lord transformed, against his own will, into the foreign and barbarous German.

He lay siege to Brescia, and the investment lasting four months, cost him an enormous sum of money and the lives of many of his captains who perished by illness or wounds. His brother too died there of wounds received. The heroic resistance of the Brescians embittered him to such a point that their leader, Theobald dei Brusati, having fallen into his hands, was, at his command, wrapped in a cow-hide, dragged thus round the walls and then beheaded and quartered. The Brescians responded to this barbarous act by hanging from the walls the corpses of their German prisoners. Finally the town was obliged to capitulate,

but obtained honourable conditions. On the 24th of September Henry was able to make a hurried entrance into the city with the semblance only of a conqueror. He then proceeded rapidly in the direction of Rome, accompanied by two Cardinals whom the Pope, being unable to come himself, had deputed to perform in his name the ceremony of coronation.

On the 21st of October, 1311, he entered Genoa in state, and while sojourning there had the grief of losing his wife. He then continued the journey to Rome. There, however, the members of the Orsini family were busy preparing, by their usual violent methods, to prevent his coronation. For this purpose they invited King Robert of Naples to Rome. The Colonna family, instead, especially Sciarra, the deadly enemy of Boniface VIII., was ready to defend Henry who brought Stephen Colonna in his train.

The Florentines, for their part, were actively opposing his projects by lavishing money in Philip's Court and in that of the Pope, and by pressing Robert of Naples to undertake the armed intervention which he had promised. Above all they called upon the Guelf cities, as they had already and successfully called upon Brescia, to offer armed resistance. "Unite with us," so they wrote, "to combat the foreigner, the German, the barbarous enemy of Italy and of her liberty." Their energy and activity were prodigious. All this aroused the indignation of the Ghibellines, especially of Dante, who by his flaming epistles incited Henry to take vengeance upon Florence: "a nest of pestiferous Guelfs. Until this poisonous viper is crushed, until the head of this cursed hydra is cut off, nothing can be accomplished."

Robert of Naples, giving way to Florentine impor-

tunity, had despatched to Rome his brother John, Prince of Achaia, with 400 horsemen, and they, in agreement with the Orsini, while keeping up an appearance of friendship for Henry, had occupied the Vatican, Trastevere, the Castle of St. Angelo, and other fortresses. When Henry was informed of this he ordered Louis of Savoy, with a scant following of 50 German foot, to return to Rome. On the 6th of March, 1312, Henry entered Pisa, where, from news received from Rome, he was finally convinced that Robert, while pretending to be a friend, was in reality an enemy, and had already ordered his brother to oppose him in arms. On the 23rd of April he left Pisa with an army of 2,000 horsemen and many foot. On the 7th of May he entered Rome by the Porta del Popolo and took up his abode in the Lateran.

He soon, however, perceived that his coronation in St. Peter's would be rendered very difficult owing to the positions occupied, to his disadvantage, by the Southerners; and it became, therefore, necessary for him to fight his way. Upon this he seized some of the towers within the city, and, with the help of the Colonna party and with considerable sacrifice of life, he succeeded in occupying the Capitol on the 25th of May, 1312. Thereupon he reconfirmed Louis of Savoy as Senator, and the latter assumed the office by proxy. It was now imperative to attempt an entrance into St. Peter's, and Henry renewed hostilities, took the barricades, and advanced as far as the bridge of St. Angelo. But there the Imperial troops were driven back on the 26th of May by a vigorous sortie from the castle, headed by King Robert's brother. Several leaders were killed, and some of the Ghibellines

retired disheartened from the camp. After a second assault, which was equally unsuccessful, Henry gave up the attempt to be crowned in St. Peter's and proposed to the Cardinal Legates that they should crown him in the Lateran. They, however, knowing the Pope to be unfavourably disposed towards Henry, replied that this could not be done without obtaining his consent. This would have caused much delay, and the people, wishing to prove their right to nominate the Emperor, threatened to kill the Cardinals if they hesitated. So Henry of Luxemburg was finally crowned Emperor on the 29th of June, 1312.

On the 20th of August, after a sojourn divided between Rome and Tivoli, Henry VII. departed for Tuscany, proceeding towards Florence with the intention of punishing her, as Dante had repeatedly counselled in his epistles, for her obstinate propaganda against the Empire. On the 19th of September he established his camp at S. Salvi, close to the walls of the city. And Florence, quite undaunted, and encouraged by the arrival of contingents from neighbouring territories, vigorously prepared her defence. She was able to muster an army composed of 4,000 horsemen, and, according to Villani's expression, an infinite number of foot. Henry, instead, had lost men not only while fighting in Rome but also on the march through the Campagna during the feverish season. His army now consisted of 8,000 German and 1,000 Italian horsemen, besides a fair number of foot. The Florentines therefore felt so secure that they shut only those city gates which faced the Imperial camp, while the others remained open for trade and for the free passage of the citizens. Matters re-

mained thus until All Saints' Day, when Henry, tired of such a hopeless undertaking, struck his tents by night and departed for Poggibonsi, where, through lack of funds, he had to remain stationary till the 6th of March, 1313, when he moved on to Pisa and entered the town on the 9th. There he remained for some time inactive, because he was almost exhausted in body and mind from the fatigue he had undergone and the grief he had suffered. He was, however, still determined to carry out the enterprise. He continued to judge and pronounce sentence on the Florentines, who took no notice of him, and on King Robert, whom he considered not only an enemy but a traitor and a rebel to the Empire, and whom he wished to punish as such.

At Rome a reconciliation had been effected between the Colonna and Orsini families, but the people had reconstituted the government on democratic lines copied from Florence, and with complete exclusion of the nobles. After accomplishing this, they invited Henry to return to the city to receive and acknowledge from the Roman people alone the Imperial crown and dignity. "Principatum a sola plebe recogniturum," writes Mussato. He decided to turn again towards Rome and proceed thence against Robert, in order to punish him. With this end in view, he had already during the preceding year formed an alliance with Frederick of Sicily, although he knew the Pope to be strongly opposed to this prince, and to have, in fact, threatened excommunication to any one who should dare to attack the King of Naples, whom he considered his vassal.

At last the Emperor, taking heart, succeeded in mustering 2,500 Ultramontane horsemen and 1,500

Italian, together with a large number of foot. The Genoese, who supported him, furnished 70 galleys, Frederick 50, and the Pisans, who had already made many sacrifices on his behalf, 20. Having also obtained a sufficient sum of money, Henry, full of hope, started for Siena on the 8th of August—an unfavourable season on account of the fever in the Maremma and Campagna. No sooner, in fact, had he reached Buonconvento, two miles beyond Siena, than, worn out as he was, he was struck down by Maremman fever. He died on the 24th of August, 1313, at the age of fifty-one. It was affirmed—without any proof, however—that he was poisoned by the wafer given him by the Dominican friar who administered Communion to him. And the Imperial soldiers, believing this, invaded the monastery and slaughtered all the friars they could find. The Emperor's body was conveyed to Pisa and placed in a mausoleum in the cathedral; subsequently it was transported in an urn to the city burial-ground, where it remained.

His death marks a new period of Italian history. The Imperial authority had by this time lost its prestige and the Papacy had put itself in opposition to the Communes—which meant that it was hostile to Italian liberty and civilisation. The Pontifical seat had been transferred to France; and that country, completely detached from the Empire, and daily acquiring new force, menaced Italy. And Italy, now that the two great institutions which had constituted the political and religious unity of the Middle Ages could exercise but little influence upon her, was left to herself and fell into the state of disorder already described. But her admirable progress in art and literature, which was the consequence of the liberty,

civilisation, and political and commercial prosperity she had previously enjoyed, still continued.

Commencing with Giotto and with Dante's "Divine Comedy" which is its immortal synthesis, this great intellectual progress continued with the Humanists, and with the Renascence, and made of Italy the school for Europe, the teacher of the world, and the forerunner of modern civilisation. But her political institutions rapidly decayed and liberty vanished. Later on the road would lie open to foreign invasions, bringing ruin to everything. No doubt much time was required before the splendid edifice which filled the world with admiration could be destroyed: before the brilliant light which illuminated Europe could be extinguished. But whosoever, making a study of the history of Italian literature, which is the faithful mirror of the national spirit, passes from the "Divine Comedy" to the "Canzoniere" of Petrarch and Boccaccio's "Decameron," must be profoundly astonished at the rapidity of the transformation through which Italy passed in so short a period. These three great writers can be called contemporaries, and yet they seem to belong to different centuries. This may serve to give us an idea of the change which took place in Italy during the times of Boniface VIII., Philip the Fair, and Henry VII.

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